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THE ENGLISH LITURGIES OF 1549 AND 1661

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THE ENGLISH LITURGIES OF 1549 AND 1661

COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH THE ANCIENT LITURGIES

BY

JOHN EDWARD FIELD, M.A.

Vicar of Benson

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1920

By the Rev. J. E. FIELD, M.A.

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE SERVICES OF THE CHURCH. 1*s.* 9*d.* net.

ST. BERIN, THE APOSTLE OF WESSEX. The History, Legends, and Traditions of the Beginning of the West-Saxon Church. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

LONDON: S.P.C.K.

PREFACE

The liturgy of 1549 was for the most part a genuine attempt to reproduce in an English form the essential features of the ancient Latin service of the Holy Eucharist. It was superseded in 1552 by another in which its various parts were rearranged and its language was considerably altered with a view to giving greater prominence to the reception of Holy Communion by the worshippers, as distinguished from the offering of eucharistic worship; and in all its main features this is the service which we still retain. But on two occasions it was set aside for a few years, first in favour of the Latin Missal during the reign of Mary and afterwards in favour of the Puritan Directory under the Commonwealth; and on each occasion when it was brought back into use, first in 1559 after the accession of Elizabeth and secondly in 1661 after the restoration of Charles II., it underwent revisions in which some of the features of the ancient service were restored.

The purpose of the present treatise is first to compare together the short-lived rite of 1549 and that of 1661 as we now have it; and in order that the force of the alterations may be rightly understood it is necessary to indicate when and how they were introduced in the successive revisions. Besides this, the two rites are examined in relation to the general body of liturgies of the ancient churches, and more especially to the use of Sarum which was the immediate precursor of the rite of 1549 and the principal source from which its substance was derived. But this purpose cannot be adequately carried out without an attempt to trace upward the lines of the general liturgical order which all the churches have handed down, and to connect this with the original Institution of the Holy Eucharist by our Lord Himself as it is recorded in Holy Scripture. For when the various liturgies of antiquity are brought side by side there

appears in the great majority of them a very close correspondence; and where there is any considerable divergence the alterations commonly betray themselves; so that we are able to arrive at a clear view of the primitive form of liturgy which all the churches of Christendom accepted.

This comparison will show that when the services of 1549 and 1661 are judged by the standard that has been described each of them has points of agreement with it which the other lacks, and each has marked points of variation from it, so that it may reasonably be questioned whether either one of the two is distinctly to be preferred to the other. These points will appear in various details of greater or less importance. As prominent examples of such divergence from the normal standard it may be noted beforehand that the service of 1549 is seriously defective in having no verbal oblation of the elements and is greatly disfigured by the intrusion of the confession and absolution between the consecration and the reception of communion; while on the other hand the service of 1661 lacks the very important memorial oblation of the Sacrifice of Christ and is marred by an unfortunate dislocation of the ancient order of its component parts. In further illustration of these points it may be added that both the Scottish and the American churches, in revising the Prayer-book, have made a still larger restoration of ancient features; for the Scottish book is practically that of 1549, retaining indeed the misplaced penitential passage, but in other respects brought into closer conformity with the order of the early liturgies; while the American book is that of 1661, with its several parts still dislocated, but having the memorial oblation restored.

The substance of the two English liturgies remains essentially the same, and any doctrinal significance that may seem to be involved in the changes made at the successive revisions will be found to be merely superficial. That aspect of the subject is therefore passed over in these pages without serious discussion. But it may be well to notice a plausible argument which has been alleged as showing that the doctrine of the commemorative sacrifice embodied in all ancient liturgies is excluded in that of 1549. It has been urged that since Archbishop Cranmer was the chief compiler of this, and since in his published works he avowedly rejects that doctrine, therefore it cannot be the doctrine of the liturgy.[1] The argument is plainly

[1] Gasquet, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, 209.

fallacious; for it is obvious that the meaning of a document is not necessarily to be defined by reference to the private opinions of the compiler. The true test lies in the question of the sense in which the Church of England received this liturgy; and it contains nothing in which those who used it would find any violent break with the general eucharistic teaching of the Latin rite which they had used previously, though they would find some novelties and several omissions.

It may be convenient to add some notes upon the plan which has been adopted in the present work. It has not seemed necessary to indicate the slight verbal differences in the various editions of the book of 1549. Several editions are enumerated and the differences are indicated in the reprint issued by the Parker Society.[2] Nor would any useful purpose be served by following the archaic spelling of the original book. This is therefore modernised as in the above-named reprint and in others that have appeared in recent years. Several attempts have been made to exhibit the liturgies in parallel columns; but as the order of their several parts differs widely, and hence the proportion of blank pages on one side or the other becomes very large, the arrangement can hardly be considered successful in showing the liturgies side by side. Canon Brightman in his monumental work *The English Rite* has adopted an admirable system of reference numbers showing where the parallel passage is to be found. It is hoped that in the present work the purpose will be sufficiently served by merely setting the headings of the various passages in parallel columns.

The notes on the service of 1661 indicate all the details in which the text differs from that of 1549, with the exception of such as are merely verbal (as "we are" for "we be") or are otherwise unimportant. It would be superfluous to insert the text of the liturgy from the present Prayer-book.

The custom of the Prayer-book has been followed in the use of ordinary type for personal pronouns relating to the Deity; and for the sake of consistency the same usage is adopted in translations from the liturgies of other languages. Elsewhere it has been thought best to observe the modern custom of using a capital initial letter for those pronouns.

In translating passages from the Latin it has frequently been found useful to emphasise a detail by giving a bald and strictly

[2] *The Two Liturgies . . . in the Reign of King Edward VI.*, ed. Jos. Ketley, Cambridge, 1844.

literal version instead of following a more euphonious rendering which the English rite may supply.

In the notes in which the two English liturgies are compared with the various ancient rites it may perhaps be felt that a superabundance of detail has been collected and that it would have been sufficient to notice only the more important points. But it has seemed desirable to cover the ground in a more exhaustive survey and to illustrate as far as possible the numerous divergences of form and order in the various liturgies, since they have the effect of throwing out into stronger prominence the essential unity of the universal eucharistic rite.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION:

ON THE LITURGICAL ORIGINS

I. The Institution of the Holy Eucharist.
II. The Primitive Liturgy.
III. The Written Liturgies.

ON THE LITURGICAL ORIGINS

I. The Institution of the Holy Eucharist.

Any account of the development of the liturgy must begin with a notice of the records of the Institution of the sacred rite as we have them from the Evangelists and St. Paul. The first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, written about the year 57, has been commonly regarded as the earliest of these authorities. But recent criticism tends to show that St. Mark's Gospel, certainly in its original Aramaic form and probably also in the Greek form in which we possess it, is of still earlier date;[1] and in any case we have in St. Mark the account which he received from St. Peter himself. St. Matthew, whose authorship of the first Gospel is now accepted much more generally than it formerly was, bases his account upon St. Mark, but introduces further points, as might be expected from an eye-witness. St. Luke, too, makes use of St. Mark's account; and he has also points of close agreement with St. Paul's, but it is uncertain which has been influenced by the other.[2] St. John, while he omits what the others have told us, gives a very full account of further details of the Institution, covering five chapters (xiii. to xvii.). These will be more conveniently examined after the others have been considered.

When St. Paul introduces his account with the words "I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you,"[3] this need not be taken to mean that he received it without any human intervention, but rather that the Lord had convincingly brought home to him by a divine assurance what he

[1] Nolloth, *The Rise of the Christian Religion*, 23.

[2] *Ibid.* 461.

[3] 1 Cor. xi. 23.

had heard from the original Apostles. An earlier passage of the same Epistle seems to show that the Passover was a recognised term to designate the Christian Eucharist, as the term "sacrifice of thanksgiving" was used of the Jewish peace-offerings of which the Passover was the chief.[4] Thus St. Paul writes that "Our Passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven," etc.,[5] for it can hardly be doubted that these words are to be read in the light of the subsequent passages which speak of partaking of the table of the Lord and of eating the bread and drinking the cup of the Lord;[6] and the point seems to be placed beyond question when the Apostle designates the Eucharistic cup as "the cup of blessing which we bless,"[7] applying to it a well-known term for one of the cups of the Jewish Passover.

We learn from St. John that the Passover of the Jews was on the day following that of our Lord's Institution;[8] and the Apostles may perhaps have supposed that they were to make preparation for this.[9] Of the character of the "supper" to which they sat down we know but little. It has been commonly assumed that there was a lamb and that they were in some sense eating the Jewish Passover by anticipation. But the Gospels give us no hint of a lamb. They only tell us of the bread and wine, which were the accompaniment of the lamb in the Jewish rite. The force of the words "This is my body, This is my blood which is shed," lies in the contrast with the body and the blood-shedding of the lamb in the old rite, which has now passed away since the true Lamb of God is giving Himself up in sacrifice. The sense of the words is not affected by the question whether a lamb of the old covenant had just been eaten or whether there was no lamb at this supper.

Before proceeding it may be convenient to tabulate the four parallel records which are given by the first three Evangelists and St. Paul.[10]

[4] Freeman, *Divine Service* (1871), ii. 271 *sq.*
[5] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.
[6] *Ibid.* x. 21; xi. 27.
[7] *Ibid.* x. 16.
[8] John, xiii. 1; xviii. 28. *Cf.* vi. 4.
[9] Matt. xxvi. 17–19; Mark xiv. 12–16; Luke xxii. 7–13.
[10] In order to show the parallels more clearly it has seemed desirable not to follow the Revised Version entirely, but to give always the same rendering for the same Greek word where that version varies it (as in "shed" and "poured out"), and also to render some phrases with literal exactness (as "having hymned").

Mark xiv. 17, 22–26.	*Matt. xxvi.* 20, 26–30.
And when it was evening	Now when even was come
He cometh with the twelve.	He was sitting at meat with the twelve disciples.
And as they sat and were eating He took bread, and having blessed he brake it and gave to them and said. Take ye, This is my body.	And as they were eating Jesus took bread, and having blessed he brake it and gave to the disciples and said. Take, eat, This is my body.
And he took a cup,	And he took a cup,
And having given thanks he gave to them : And they all drank of it ; and he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many :	And having given thanks he gave to them saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many unto remission of sins.
Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God. And having hymned they went out unto the Mount of Olives.	But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom. And having hymned they went out unto the Mount of Olives.

Luke xxii. 14–20	1 *Cor. xi.* 23–25.
	The Lord Jesus
And when the hour was come	in the night
	in which he was betrayed
He sat down and the Apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer ; for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks he said, Take this and divide it among yourselves, for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come.	
And he took bread, And having given thanks he brake it and gave to them saying, This is my body which is given for you : This do in remembrance of me	took bread, and having given thanks he brake it, and said, This is my body which is [broken] for you : This do in remembrance of me
And the cup in like manner after supper	In like manner also the cup after supper
saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.	saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood. This do as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me.

The Lord, then, was seated at the supper with the Twelve, and "as they were eating He took bread," as St. Mark and St. Matthew tell us. But instead of the words "as they were

eating," St. Luke has the passage telling how the Lord "desired to eat this passover" with them, and that He "will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God"; and how He "received a cup," and gave thanks, and told them to divide it among themselves, for He "will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come." They were to divide the cup among them, in contrast with the usage of the Jewish passover where each had a separate cup. Then the three Gospels proceed alike to relate that He took bread and that He spoke the blessing or thanksgiving over the bread and over the cup. St. Luke now calls it "*the* Cup," because he had mentioned it already; and he is also careful to add that this was "after the supper." The account of the preliminary action, appearing only in St. Luke, is important. He relates how our Lord spoke of eating this passover and drinking of the fruit of the vine, and of a coming fulfilment of it in the Kingdom of God; and it seems to be implied that He took of the bread of the passover, as it is stated that He "received a cup," in view of what He was about to do. Thus "as they were eating" He set these apart for the Thanksgiving which was to be "after the supper." St. Mark and St. Matthew, grouping the two actions together, relate how our Lord took the bread and the cup and declared that He would not drink of the fruit of the vine till the Kingdom of God should come; thus combining the preliminary action with the subsequent blessing. But St. Luke relates the two actions separately. They are in fact the Oblation and the Consecration.

St. Mark and St. Matthew say that our Lord "having blessed" broke the bread, and "having given thanks" gave the cup. St. Luke and St. Paul say "having given thanks" in relation to the bread and add "likewise also" for the cup. The words "blessing" and "giving thanks" are clearly interchangeable, as they also are in the account of the feeding of the five thousand where the three Synoptists have the former word and St. John the latter. Thus it appears that our Lord spoke words of blessing, in the sense of praise or thanksgiving, to God.[11] But from the earliest times the words were understood to imply a blessing or consecration of the bread and wine.

[11] In St. Luke ix. 16 we read "He blessed *them*," that is, the loaves and fishes; but the reading is doubtful, the Sinaitic MS. not having "them."

Thus Justin Martyr (*cir.* 120) speaks of the "eucharistised bread,"[12] implying that the "thanksgiving" consecrated it; and the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions[13] has "hallowed" in place of the Scriptural words; while several of the earliest liturgies have "hallowed" in addition to the other words.[14] We must therefore infer that whatever may have been the precise terms of the "blessing" or "giving thanks" they conveyed the sense of a blessing or hallowing of the eucharistic elements.

The words that are recorded as spoken by our Lord must be examined as we have them in the best authorities. They begin in St. Mark with "Take" and in St. Matthew "Take, eat"; but this, being obviously implied, is not mentioned by St. Luke or St. Paul. All the four accounts agree in the next words, "This is my body." St. Luke adds, "Which is given for you"; and St. Paul "Which is for you," though here there is much authority for adding "broken." Both St. Luke and St. Paul add, "Do this in remembrance of me," or more exactly, "for my remembrance." St. Mark and St. Matthew continue, "And taking a cup": St. Luke, having mentioned it before, specifies it as the same, "Likewise also the cup after the supper"; and St. Paul has the same words. Then as St. Mark and St. Matthew had spoken previously of a "blessing," where St. Luke and St. Paul had spoken of a "thanksgiving," so the two former mention this here: "Having given thanks He gave to them." St. Mark adds, "And they all drank of it;" where St. Matthew substitutes our Lord's words, "Drink ye all of it," which in a varied form St. Luke had anticipated; but this is not in St. Paul. The words spoken over the cup, according to St. Mark and St. Matthew, are "This is my blood of the covenant," or according to St. Luke and St. Paul, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." St. Mark and St. Matthew add, "Which is poured out for many"; St. Luke, "for you"; and St. Matthew adds further, "For remission of sins." The words "Do this in remembrance of me," which we have already seen in St. Luke and St. Paul, are here repeated by St. Paul with the insertion, "as oft as ye drink it." The words imply that as they had done, or performed, the old paschal rite for the foreshowing of

[12] See below, p. 19.

[13] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 51 *sq.*

[14] *Ibid.* 87 (Syrian), 132, 176, 232 (Egyptian), 328, 404 (Byzantine).

Christ, so henceforth they are to do, or perform, this new rite for the remembrance of Him.

The command to continue the rite does not appear in St. Mark or St. Matthew; but they give the equivalent of it in our Lord's final assurance, "I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God," as we read it in St. Mark; or in St. Matthew, "when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom." We have seen the parallel words in St. Luke where they are placed in an earlier position. Our Lord looks forward to His continued presence with His disciples in His Church which He is about to found as the Kingdom of God on earth.

It is important to observe the present tenses in our Lord's words; literally, "My body which *is being given* (or *is being broken*) for you," and "My blood which *is being shed*." Already in will and intention He is giving Himself up in that sacrifice of which we see the climax in the agony of Gethsemane when He is about to be delivered up to the Jews, and of which we see the outward manifestation in the death upon the cross. In His Eucharist we see the anticipatory self-surrender in which the whole sacrifice is implied and involved.

The account of the conclusion of the rite, given by St. Mark and St. Matthew, requires examination. "When they had sung [a hymn]," (or, read literally, "Having hymned"),[15] "they went out unto the Mount of Olives." The mention of "a hymn," inserted by the English translators (following the Vulgate *hymno dicto*), suggests the thought of a concluding hymn; but this is not conveyed in the original, "having hymned they went out." The supposition that this "hymning" alludes to the Psalms of the paschal Hallel is hardly probable, since Psalms and hymns are not identical in the language of the New Testament. "Psalms" imply, perhaps not exclusively, those contained in the Psalter of the Old Testament; the term "hymns" is applied from very early times to the solemn liturgical hymns such as the Tersanctus; and St. Paul distinguishes both from "songs" or "odes," of a less formal character (like "hymns" in the modern sense) which might be used in worship provided they are "spiritual songs" and not secular.[16] It may be worth considering

[15] ὑμνήσαντες, Mark xiv. 26; Matt. xxvi. 30.

[16] Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.

whether the "hymning" is not descriptive of the whole rite, implying the solemn chant of their thanksgiving according to ancient usage both Jewish and Christian: "When they had chanted [their eucharist] they went out."

If we pass on now to the additional details supplied by St. John's Gospel, we have first our Lord's action in washing the disciples' feet which He expressly represents as symbolical of the spiritual cleansing of the soul.[17] Probably the washing of the hands would go with this. In any case it carries on the usage of the Mosaic Law which required that the priests should wash their hands and feet at the brazen laver when they approached the altar. The passage of Exodus which prescribes this [18] is read at the beginning of the morning service of the synagogue, apparently implying that the washing takes place; and the washing of the hands of all the household is the first ceremony at the paschal supper of the present day.[19] We shall have occasion to notice how it was continued, probably by universal custom, in the Christian liturgy.

When Judas had gone out our Lord at once proceeds with an exclamation of praise: "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him; and God shall glorify Him in Himself, and straightway shall He glorify Him."[20] It is noteworthy that the morning service of the synagogue opens with a hymn of praise, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Ages," before it proceeds to the reading of Scripture and of the Mishna. Similarly the Christian liturgies commonly have an opening hymn of praise in one form or another before the appointed Scriptures are read; the *Gloria in Excelsis* being the form in which this eventually became fixed in the Western Church.

The reading of a portion of Holy Scripture was probably invariable in the Jewish services as it has certainly been in the Christian liturgy. Of this we find no mention at the Institution, but we can hardly doubt that it occurred, and it is worth while to look for anything that may bear upon it. After the words of praise already noticed our Lord briefly announces to the disciples His impending departure from them and then at once tells them the purpose of His "New Commandment" that He is giving to them, that it is to be to them a sacrament

[17] John xiii. 5–11.
[18] Exod. xxx. 18–21
[19] Hyam Isaacs, *Ceremonies, etc., of the Jews*, 105.
[20] John xiii. 31, 32.

or pledge of the law of love: "that ye love one another: even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another." [21] And this is the thought to which he recurs again and again, after replying to the questions of three disciples, after giving the promise of the Comforter, and after replying to St. Jude; [22] and in His further discourse on the true vine He develops it very fully until it leads up to the climax where He speaks of the love of one who lays down his life for his friends.[23] The chief part, therefore, of our Lord's discourse is based upon the same passages of Scripture which He had used in reply to the lawyer's question about "the great commandment in the law." [24] And it is worth noting how we learn from St. Luke that in reply to a different question on another occasion He had based upon the same passages the parable of the Good Samaritan, in which He both foreshadows the completion of His own work for fallen humanity and also illustrates the law of love to our neighbour, bidding His enquirer to "go and do likewise." [25] Thus the parable supplies a connecting link, amplifying our Lord's first teaching on the "great and first commandment and a second like unto it," and leading up to the full teaching of the last discourses on the "new commandment." If our Lord read or recited the same passage on this last occasion, it would be in accordance with St. John's custom to omit the mention of it in view of his readers' familiarity with the passages on the law of love in the Synoptists.

If we refer once more to the Sabbath-morning service of the Synagogue, we find the direction to read first a passage of the Law and secondly a passage of the Prophets; [26] and in connection with this we may notice our Lord's further words on this occasion. As the first discourse on the new commandment is based upon a precept of the Law, so when He presently resumes His discourse He dwells upon a thought derived from the Prophets, and more particularly from Isaiah (v. 1–7), regarding "the house of Israel" as "the vineyard of the Lord," who had "planted it with the choicest vine." It suggests a possible inference that this may have been the second

[21] John xiii. 33–35.
[22] xiv. 15, 21, 23, 24.
[23] xv. 9–17.
[24] Matt. xxii. 37–40; Mark xii. 29–31. *Cf.* Deut. vi. 4–6; x. 12–15; Lev. xix. 18.
[25] Luke x. 27–37.
[26] Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*, 100.

passage used by our Lord when He proceeds to speak of the true Vine and its branches.

Towards the close of His first discourse, and in connection with the announcement of His own departure and of the coming of the Comforter, our Lord proceeds: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth give I unto you."[27] And thus in the same service of the Synagogue, after some intervening prayers we have the passage: "Grant peace . . . upon us and upon thy whole people Israel: . . . for it is well-pleasing to thee at every time and hour to bless thy people with thy peace: praised be thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace."[28] Here is another striking coincidence with the earliest forms of the Christian liturgy, where the kiss of peace stands in close connection with the oblation of the Elements and the people are bidden to "salute one another,"[29] or "love one another,"[30] "in a holy kiss" or "in a kiss of love."[31]

The question arises where we are to place the two chief actions of the service which St. John, for whatever reason, omits to record. We might reasonably assume that there must be something which would indicate these points to the original readers, although the clue may be lost to us and may even have been lost from early times. Now almost immediately after the verse of the Peace we have a very marked interruption. Our Lord breaks off His discourse: "I will no more speak much with you, for the prince of the world cometh; and he hath nothing in me; but that the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father gave me commandment, thus I do."[32] He says that the evil one is at hand, though he has no claim upon the Lord; but now there must be the fulfilment of the Father's great commandment; and therefore "Thus I do,"—"thus I make my self-oblation." It may well be that the Evangelist intends these words to recall to his readers those other words, "Do ye this in remembrance of me."[33] It is the point at which we may place with some confidence the preliminary taking of the bread and the cup recorded by St. Luke, which is the liturgical oblation.

Then our Lord bids His disciples, "Arise, let us go hence."

[27] John xiv. 27.
[28] Bickell, as above, 104.
[29] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 13, 123, 434.
[30] *Ibid.* 44, 320.
[31] 1 Pet. v. 14.
[32] John xiv. 30, 31.
[33] οὕτω ποιῶ—τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. See Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. 349.

It is interpreted by some commentators [34] as implying that they at once left the room and went upon the way which presently led them to the brook Kedron.[35] But this involves the extreme difficulty of supposing that the great eucharistic prayer of chapter xvii. was said elsewhere, and not in the place where our Lord performed the solemnities to which it belongs. The call to "arise" may be more suitably explained as a warning that the disciples should be ready to depart, though they did not immediately move away.[36] It tells them that they are no longer to be reclining as listeners, but are now to stand as worshippers for the more solemn portion of the rite; and while it applies to the bodily attitude it also implies *Sursum corda*.

Then with the cup before Him our Lord tells His disciples of the true vine as a figure of their abiding in Him;[37] and dwelling very fully upon the thought of the Father's love for Him and for them, and His own love for them, and their duty of love to Him and to one another, He leads up again to the coming of the Comforter and His own continual presence with them and the completion of their joy. Thus He draws out from them finally the full confession of their faith,[38] and then ends with the triumphant conclusion, "Be of good cheer" (or perhaps more exactly, "Be courageous"); "I have overcome the world."[39] The Lord has met the prince of the world, and the world is conquered.

This may have more significance than is obvious to us. We may compare the self-oblation of the Lamb of God in the Apocalypse, and the words, "The lion of the tribe of Judah hath overcome"[40] There is also the usage of the Orthodox Eastern Church where the eucharistic breads are stamped with the words "Jesus Christ overcometh";[41] and with this we may compare the curious usage of the old Spanish rite, where the bread is broken into nine parts, named from nine points in the life of our Lord, beginning with the Incarnation and ending with the Resurrection and the Glory and the Kingdom, the last of which is put into the chalice by the priest, who on festival days repeats three times the words, *Vicit Leo*, etc., of the Apocalypse.[42] It may well be that these widely dis-

[34] Wordsworth, *in loc.*; Westcott, *in loc.*

[35] John xviii. 1.

[36] So Alford *in loc.*

[37] xv. 1–8.

[38] xvi. 30.

[39] xvi. 33, ἀλλὰ θαρσεῖτε· ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον. *Cf.* xiv. 30.

[40] Rev. v. 5, ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων.

[41] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 342. See below, p. 209.

[42] *Missale Mozar.*, ed. Leslie, 230, 233.

connected rites combine to give us traces of a primitive tradition of the force of our Lord's words. Thus in His announcement of His victory the original readers may have been able to recognise the point of His Eucharistic consecration.[43]

The great Eucharistic Prayer of chapter xvii. follows. It consists of three parts. First (1–4) our Lord offers up to the Father His finished work, declaring that "the hour is come"; praying that the Father will glorify His Son; telling how He had used His "authority over all flesh" in giving men eternal life through the knowledge of God and of Christ; and summing up what He had done in the words, "I glorified thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which Thou hast given me to do." Secondly (5–8) He prays that the due results of His work may follow: "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." Thirdly (from verse 6) He brings before God those to whom He has manifested His name and who have accepted His truth, and He prays for them in a lengthened intercession. The prayer thus corresponds with what we find in the earliest liturgies, where, after reciting the Institution, there follows the Oblation, offering to God the memorial of Christ's sacrifice; the Invocation, praying that the Holy Spirit may be sent down to complete the purposes for which it is offered; and thirdly the great Intercessory prayer. We must take the prayer to be St. John's recollection of the "blessing" or "thanksgiving" which the earlier Gospels had only mentioned.

St. John's record of the Institution concludes: "Jesus having spoken these words went out";[44] corresponding with what we read in St. Mark and St. Matthew, "Having hymned they went out."

We can hardly doubt that our Lord in the institution of His new passover followed the lines of the old paschal ritual with which He and His disciples were familiar. This is now lost, and we can but gather some knowledge of its character from the evidences that we possess. There are the Prayers of the Synagogue, still used among the Jews, which probably represent the forms that were used at the sacrificial rites of the temple. And there is the general consensus of form appearing in all the earliest Christian liturgies, of which we may say

[43] See Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. 372–374.

[44] John xviii. 1.

that at least possibly it carries on the tradition of the same rites of the Jews. There are also various liturgical fragments and allusions in the books of Holy Scripture, both in the Old and in the New Testaments, among which the Tersanctus Hymn already mentioned is the most prominent; and this has a special interest from the fact that it occurs in the synagogue services, in the Christian liturgy, in the vision of Isaiah (vi. 3) in the Old Testament, and in that of St. John (Rev. iv. 8) in the New Testament; both the prophet and the apostle introducing it in such a way as to suggest that they were familiar with it in their worship, the one in the temple service and the other in the Christian Church. When we examine these three sources of evidence side by side we see good reason for thinking that one original lies behind them all; and this original can only have existed in the ancient service of the temple. It was the conclusion of one of the most learned of modern students of the liturgy that "the eucharistic ritual of the early Church strikes its roots deep into the old Israelitish sacrificial ordinances, and is framed in many respects upon them."[45] But it must be added that the arguments for the outgrowth of the Christian liturgy from the paschal ritual, though accepted by many, have not thus far produced general conviction among liturgical scholars.

II. THE PRIMITIVE LITURGY.

As our Lord instituted the Holy Eucharist at the paschal supper which He was eating with His disciples, so they continued to celebrate it at a meal of a similar character known as the *Agapé* or Love-feast. We have mention of this meal in two passages of the New Testament which allude to the presence of the ungodly and unbelievers "in your love-feasts when they feast with you";[46] and these passages show very clearly the meaning of St. Paul's words where he speaks of those who "come together not for the better but for the worse" and do not "eat a supper of the Lord."[47]

[45] Freeman, *Divine Service*, I. 60

[46] Jude 12; similarly 2 Pet. ii. 13 (R.V.).

[47] 1 Cor. xi. 17–20. Note that the words are not "*the* supper of the Lord."

But whatever may have been the precise connection between the Eucharist and the *Agapé*, it is evident that they are not to be identified as a single religious rite. As the Eucharist at its institution stands out prominently over and above the paschal supper, so it continued to stand out over and above the *Agapé* as a rite that could be readily separated from it when occasion required; and at a very early period the severance took place, probably as a consequence of the evils to which the passages cited from the New Testament refer.

When we inquire what was the character of the primitive eucharistic rite as it grew out of our Lord's Institution, we can draw two certain conclusions from a comparison of the various examples of liturgy which have come down to us. They all agree in representing one general form; but it is evident that the officiant was allowed considerable liberty in varying it within certain lines. It is probable, if not more than probable, that a similar liberty was allowed to the officiant in the Jewish worship; for if the Passover, for example, had been celebrated with an invariable formulary, we can hardly doubt that this would have been preserved with the same care as the books of the Old Testament.

First, then, we have to notice the fixed outline of the service which we find in all the liturgies, corresponding with that of our Lord's Institution. We have seen that on that occasion there was the preliminary cleansing; then a passage or passages of Scripture, or at least the embodiment of it in the discourses; then the three principal actions which our Lord performed when He (1) took the bread and (2) gave thanks and blessed it and (3) brake it and gave to the disciples, and similarly (1) took the cup and (2) gave thanks and blessed it and (3) gave it to them to drink. All this is followed precisely in the Christian liturgy with the one exception, which could hardly be avoided, that it combines the three ceremonies of the bread and the cup, (1) taking both, (2) giving thanks and blessing both, and (3) giving them to be eaten and drunk. Thus all the liturgies begin with preparation, first penitential and secondly instructive, consisting of prayers for the spiritual cleansing of the worshippers followed by the lessons of Holy Scripture; then the bread and wine are solemnly set apart for their sacred purpose; next there is a thanksgiving in which the bread and wine are blessed and consecrated; and lastly there is the reception of the consecrated elements. In the usual liturgical

terminology these three actions are known as the Offertory, the Consecration, and the Communion. Therefore the common form of the universal liturgy in all ancient churches divides itself into the four sections which have been indicated:

1. Preparation, consisting of (*a*) penitential prayers and (*b*) the reading of Holy Scripture with accompanying praise and prayer;

2. The Oblation of the Elements with accompanying praise and prayer;

3. The Thanksgiving, or Consecration-prayer, beginning with its introductory Preface;

4. The Reception of Communion with accompanying praise and prayer.

It is usual to regard the service as consisting of two portions, the first and second of the four sections being preparatory to the essential actions of Consecration and Communion in the third and fourth. Hence the latter portion of the service, including Consecration and Communion, is known in the Eastern rites as the *Anaphora*, or offering up, and is thus distinguished from the *Proanaphora* or preparatory portion. In the Latin rite the preparatory portion is the *Ordo* or *Ordinarium* of the Mass, and the latter portion is the *Canon*, or Rule, as meaning probably the portion which is regulated with special strictness. The Preface of the Thanksgiving, which belongs to the *Ordo* in the later Latin rites, was originally included in the Canon,[48] as in the East it belongs to the Anaphora.

The most prominent mention of the Eucharist in writings of the age next after the Apostles is found in the *Didaché*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which is assigned to the end of the first century or possibly the beginning of the second. In chapter xiv. it gives the brief direction: "Being gathered together on the Sunday of the Lord, break bread and give thanks, having confessed your transgressions that your sacrifice may be pure." Thus it bears witness to the rule that the Thanksgiving is to be preceded by a penitential preparation. But we have much fuller directions in regard to "the Eucharist" in an earlier passage in chapters ix., x.

"But concerning the Thanksgiving (*Eucharistia*), give ye thanks thus. First concerning the cup: We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the holy vine of thy child David which thou hast made known to us through thy Child Jesus: to thee

[48] Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, I. 695.

be the glory for ever. And concerning the broken bread: We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge thou hast made known to us through thy Child Jesus: to thee to thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread scattered upon the mountains and gathered together became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever. But let no one eat or drink from your Thanksgiving (*Eucharistia*) except those who are baptised in the name of the Lord; for concerning this the Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy to the dogs. (x.) And after being filled give ye thanks thus: We give thanks to thee, Holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through thy Child Jesus: to thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Almighty Ruler, madest all things for thy Name's sake, and gavest men food and drink to enjoy that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou vouchsafedst spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy Child. Before all things we give thanks to thee that thou art mighty: to thee be glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, thy Church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in thy love; and gather her together from the four winds and sanctify her into thy kingdom which thou preparedst for her; for thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any one is holy, let him come: if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha [The Lord cometh]. Amen. And suffer ye the prophets to give thanks as fully as they will."

It has been assumed that this passage gives a description of the eucharistic service as the writer knew it, showing that at this period the form of liturgy which became accepted throughout the Church was as yet entirely undeveloped. But this inference is negatived by abundant evidence; for it is impossible that the acceptance of the usual form could have become so universal if its development had been delayed for so long a time after the Institution of the rite. Some have thought that the passage relates merely to a grace before meat;[49] but there is much in it that points to the Eucharist. We may rather infer that it is merely giving suggestions upon subjects

[49] Compare 1 Tim. iv. 4.

that should be introduced into the Thanksgiving or Eucharistic Preface and into the Intercession, namely, that there should be thanksgiving for Christ as the true Vine in connection with the cup and for the new life revealed in Him in connection with the bread, and that there should be prayer for the gathering together of all into God's Kingdom; after which there is the direction as to who may not partake and the suggestions for subjects of thanksgiving after reception. The passage is immediately preceded by a direction to say the Lord's Prayer three times a day. Thus it appears evident that the clauses "concerning the Eucharist" cannot be regarded as in any sense a liturgy in germ.

An interesting account of the service is given by Pliny in the well-known letter to Trajan, A.D. 112. He was pro-prætor of Bithynia, and writes from the point of view of a heathen governor, enquiring how he was to deal with the Christians of his province; and he tells the Emperor what he had been able to learn about them from some who had apostatised.

"They affirmed that the whole of their fault or error was this, that they were accustomed to assemble on a stated day before dawn and to say responsively a hymn [*or* sacred formulary] to Christ as God (*carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem*), and to bind themselves by an oath (*sacramento*), not to any wickedness, but to refrain from thefts and robberies and adulteries and from breaking faith and from holding back a pledge when called upon; after which it was their custom to depart, and again to meet together for taking food, but of a common and harmless kind."[50]

It seems probable, therefore, that in answer to Pliny's enquiries the Christians told him that they assembled before dawn on Sundays to worship Christ, and that they described their worship as a "sacrament" and as consisting of a "thanksgiving" or Eucharist. We may compare the precisely similar terms used by Tertullian about the close of the century, "We take, in assemblies before daybreak, . . . the sacrament of the Eucharist."[51] Pliny naturally took the term "sacrament" in its usual sense as meaning an oath, while he spoke of the "thanksgiving" as a *carmen*, or religious formulary, not necessarily poetical,[52] and he inferred that they addressed

[50] Pliny, *Epist.* x. 97.

[51] *De Corona*, iii.

[52] See examples from Cicero and Livy in Smith's Latin Dictionary; and with *Carmen . . . dicere* compare the Vulgate of Matt. xxvi. 30, Mark xiv. 26, *hymno dicto*.

this to Christ. We learn further from the letter that the Eucharist was their Sunday worship; that it was not celebrated in the evening as in St. Paul's time,[53] but was now deferred until just before dawn; and also that it was now separated from the *Agapé* or love-feast with which it had been associated at the first.

The earliest actual description of the service that has come down to us is contained in the Apology of Justin Martyr addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in defence of the Christians about the year 140. He writes first of the Eucharist as it was celebrated after a Baptism and secondly of the ordinary Sunday service.[54] After saying that the newly baptised person is brought to the place where the brethren are assembled for prayer, he continues thus:

"After thus washing him who has been persuaded and has assented, we bring him where those who are called brethren are assembled, that we may offer earnestly our common prayers for ourselves and for the enlightened (baptised) person and for all others everywhere, that we who have learned the truth may be counted worthy by our works to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved in eternal salvation. Having ended the prayers we salute one another with a kiss. Then is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of mixed wine; and he taking them offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and makes thanksgiving at length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has ended the prayers and thanksgivings all the people present make assent by saying Amen. . . . And those whom we call deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and they carry a portion to those who are absent.

"And this food is called among us the Eucharist. . . . For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour having been made flesh by the Word of God had flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word, and from which our flesh and blood by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh. For the Apostles in

[53] Acts xx. 7. [54] 1 *Apol.* lxv.–lxvii.

the memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered to us what was enjoined upon them, that Jesus took bread and when He had given thanks said, This do ye in remembrance of Me; this is My body: and that after the same manner having taken the cup and given thanks He said, This is My blood; and gave it to them alone. . . .

"And on the day called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits: then when the reader has finished the president speaks words of instruction and exhortation to the following of these good examples. Then we all stand up together and pray, and, as we said before, when our prayer is ended bread and wine and water are brought, and the president offers prayers and likewise thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assent saying Amen. And there is a distribution to each and a partaking of that over which the thanksgiving has been said, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do and willing give what each thinks fit; and what has been collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need."

Putting these two accounts together we get a description of the liturgy containing the following points: (1) introductory prayers, (2) the reading of the Gospels or the Prophets, (3) a discourse upon this, (4) prayers after the discourse, (5) the kiss of peace, (6) the offering of the bread and wine, (7) the thanksgiving offered "through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," (8) the people's Amen, (9) the reception of communion. If we may assume that the introductory prayers would include something of a penitential character, the whole description agrees exactly with what we have traced out in the accounts of the Evangelists; and we have also "the Amen upon the Thanksgiving" to which St. Paul alludes in 1 Cor. xiv. 16. We are reminded also of the Kiss of Peace mentioned in the same epistle (xvi. 20) and elsewhere;[55] and bearing in mind what we read in St. John's account of the Institution, it is reasonable to infer that St. Paul is thinking of this custom as belonging to the eucharistic service.

[55] Rom. xvi. 16 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14.

Justin's description of what we should call the Consecration-prayer is remarkable. The president "offers up praise and glory to the Father . . . and makes thanksgiving," etc. There is no mention of anything else of the character of a "hymn" in the service. This is not without weight in view of the suggested interpretation [56] of the *hymnus* at the institution of the rite and of the *carmen* mentioned in Pliny's letter, where in each case the eucharistic thanksgiving seems to be implied rather than a "hymn" as commonly understood.

Justin's account clearly implies that the words of the liturgy were freely varied as "the president" pleased. He "makes thanksgiving at length" and he "offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability." This agrees entirely with St. Paul's allusion to one who "gives thanks well," but if he speaks "in a tongue" those who do not understand it are "not edified." [57]

It may be noted that the liturgy after a baptism, described in the former of the two passages, begins with prayers for the worshippers, for the newly baptised, and for all others, and the ordinary Sunday liturgy has before the offertory some prayers of which the character is not specified; but we need not doubt that the subsequent eucharistic prayer included an intercession as we find it at the Institution and in the Didache and in the great majority of the early liturgies.

It is interesting to inquire when the custom arose of reciting the account of the Institution in the eucharistic prayer. For it is found in all liturgies with the single exception of the Persian, and in very varied forms; and since this is so, the introduction of it by Justin in this passage, between his two accounts of the liturgy of his day, suggests the thought that probably the custom prevailed then. His account differs from the Scriptural accounts in mentioning the thanksgiving both for the bread and for the cup, in introducing the clause "Do this in remembrance of me" before "This is my body" instead of afterwards, and in omitting the mention of "the covenant" after "This is my blood." We may suppose that he was following a liturgical account with which he was familiar.

Then it should be noticed that St. Paul introduces his account of the Institution (1 Cor. xi. 23) with the words "I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you." And he

[56] Above, p. 9. [57] 1 Cor. xiv. 14–17.

uses precisely the same expressions afterwards (xv. 3), "For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures." It points at once to the inference that he is referring to a recognised formulary in which Christ's death, burial and resurrection are stated precisely as in the creeds of later times; and this also suggests the further inference that in the previous passage he is referring to a similar formulary. He had "delivered to" the Corinthians a statement of the Christian Faith and a statement of the Eucharistic Institution which he had "received" with the Lord's endorsement. Hence it would seem that St. Paul knew the passage as liturgical.

A fully developed order of liturgy first appears in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, who was Bishop of Portus at the mouth of the Tiber about the year 220. It has been commonly known as the *Egyptian Church Order*.[58] The original Greek is lost; but we have a version of it in the *Ethiopic Church Order*, and it exists also under the title of *Didascalia* in Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions.[59] Connected with this, but representing a later development, is the Roman manual known as the *Canons of Hippolytus*,[60] which in their present form are assigned to the earlier part of the fourth century.[61] Another document of Egyptian origin and of the same character is the *Testament of our Lord*, probably of the middle of the fourth century;[62] and closely akin to these, but probably of the close of that century, is the compilation called the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which is of Syrian origin, compiled in or near Antioch.[63] Akin to this, and perhaps representing an earlier form of it,[64] is another Egyptian compilation, the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*.[65] The Ethiopic Church Order has a form of liturgy for use at the consecration of a bishop, beginning

[58] Conolly, in *Texts and Studies*, viii. 4. pp. 2, 3.

[59] Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (Ed. V.), 524 *sqq.*, 572. For the *Ethiopic Church Order* see Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 189 *sqq.* and Harden's translation; for the Latin, Hauler, *Didascaliæ Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia*; for the Coptic and Arabic, Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*.

[60] In earlier editions of Duchesne, App. 6.

[61] Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, 156, 172.

[62] Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, p. 35.

[63] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, xxix.

[64] Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, 23.

[65] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 462–464.

with the Offertory;[66] and a largely amplified form of this, including also the earlier portion of the liturgy, is given in Book viii (Chapters 5–14) of the Apostolic Constitutions.[67] There is another form of liturgy in Book ii of these Constitutions, being the work of the compiler in the latter half of the fourth century but including rubrical directions derived from the earlier Didascalia.[68] In these documents, therefore, we have the earliest types of written liturgy that have come down to us as they were first compiled.

A full description of the eucharistic service in the Church of Jerusalem before the middle of the fourth century is given in the Catechetical Lectures delivered there by St. Cyril in the year 348.[69] It will be useful to give his account fully, only curtailing for the sake of brevity his comments which have no actual bearing on the order of the service. Comparing it with Justin's account we may note that it omits to mention the reading of the Scriptures, but it describes, what Justin did not mention, the preliminary washing.

"Ye see therefore the deacon bringing water for the washing of hands to the priest and presbyters standing around the altar; not for taking away bodily defilement; but this hand-washing is a symbol that ye ought to be clean from all sins and transgressions. . . . Then the deacon proclaims, 'Receive ye one another' and 'Let us kiss one another.' For this kiss is a sign of the uniting of our souls and of putting away the remembrance of injuries. Wherefore Christ says: 'If thou art offering thy gift at the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift.[70] Therefore the kiss is reconciliation; and for that reason it is holy, as Blessed Paul proclaimed, 'Salute one another with a holy kiss,' and Peter, 'with a kiss of charity.'[71] Afterwards the priest proceeds, 'Upward our hearts.' . . . Then ye respond, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' . . . After this the priest says, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord.' . . . To this ye reply: 'Meet and right.' . . . Then we make mention of heaven and earth and sea, sun and moon and stars, all creation reasoning and

[66] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, lxxv. 189.
[67] *Ibid.* 3–27.
[68] *Ibid.* xlvi. *sq.*; 528–30.
[69] *Ibid.* 464–467.
[70] Matt. v. 23, 24.
[71] 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 1 Pet. v. 14.

unreasoning, visible and invisible, angels, archangels, powers, dominions, principalities, authorities, thrones, the many-faced cherubim saying mightily the word of David, Magnify the Lord with me,[72] and we make mention of the Seraphim whom in the Holy Spirit Isaiah saw standing around the throne of God and with two wings covering their face and with two their feet and flying with two and saying, Holy Holy Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth.[73] For we therefore say this divine praise handed down to us from the Seraphim that we may be made sharers in the hymnodies that are above this world. Then after we have hallowed ourselves by these spiritual hymns we beseech the merciful God to send out the Holy Spirit upon the things which are set forth, that He may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ; for assuredly what the Holy Spirit touches, that is sanctified and transmuted. Then after the completion of the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless worship, we beseech God over the sacrifice of propitiation for the common peace of the churches, for the good estate of the world, for kings, for armies and allies, for those who are in sickness, for those in affliction; and in general for all in need of help we all pray and offer this sacrifice. Then we make mention also of those who have fallen asleep, first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that by their prayers and intercessions God will receive our prayer; then also for all holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep, and finally for all those among us who have fallen asleep before us. . . . Then after these things we say that prayer which the Saviour gave to His own disciples, and with pure conscience we address God as Father, saying, 'Our Father which art in heaven, . . . and lead us not into temptation, O Lord, but deliver us from evil.' Then after the prayer is finished thou sayest Amen. . . . After these things the priest says, 'The holy things to the holy,' . . . Then ye reply, 'One holy one Lord Jesus Christ.' . . . After this ye hear the singer inviting you with a divine melody to the communion of the holy mysteries and saying, 'Taste and see that the Lord is good.'[74] Therefore as you approach do not draw near with the palms of your hands outspread nor with your fingers disjointed, but making your left hand a throne for your right hand as that which is to receive a King, and hollowing the palm, receive the body of Christ, saying the

[72] Ps. xxxiv. 3.
[73] Isaiah vi. 2, 3.
[74] Ps. xxxiv. 8.

Amen. . . . Then draw near also to the cup of the Lord, not stretching out your hands, but bending down and in the manner of worship and reverence saying the Amen. . . . Then waiting for the prayer give thanks to God who has counted thee worthy of so great mysteries." [75]

In this very full description of the liturgy St. Cyril makes particular mention of almost every detail of it, including all the prominent features except the reading of Scripture and the Offertory; and in regard to the latter his allusion to the words of our Lord in St. Matthew v. gives us a clear indication that he had it in mind. [76]

In the "Pilgrimage of Etheria" (*Peregrinatio Etheriæ*), or of Silvia as it has been commonly but less correctly called, we have an account of a visit to Jerusalem about the year 385 by a lady of Galicia in Spain who appears to have been the head of a religious community.[77] She writes of the church services in Jerusalem, and in her account of the liturgy she mentions the sermons, the introductory hymns, the thanksgiving and the intercession, the bowing down of the head at the deacon's bidding, and the bishop's final blessing; [78] also on the feast of the Epiphany the preaching, the lessons, and the hymns all appropriate to the day; [79] and at Easter the hymns, the Gospel of the Resurrection, the prayers and the offering.[80]

III. The Written Liturgies.

As the traditional mode of celebrating the liturgy became eventually defined and written in the various churches, it assumed two divergent forms. In the great majority of churches it was prescribed in a fixed form which was not varied from week to week or from season to season except in the Scriptural lessons and in some anthems of praise in the introductory service; though it was customary for the bishops to remodel or to amplify the prayers, and the acceptance of their work would be extended or limited according to the influence of each bishop or of his see. But in the Gallican churches,

[75] S. Cyr. Hierosol., *Catecheses Mystagogicae*, v. 2–12.
[76] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 469, *n.* 6.
[77] Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (Ed. V.), 490 *sqq.* See also English edition by McClure-Feltoe (1919).
[78] *Ibid.* 495 *sq.*
[79] *Ibid.* 498.
[80] *Ibid.* 512.

while certain definite points throughout the liturgy became fixed for invariable use, the entire substance of the rite between these several points consisted of a series of passages varying for every Sunday and holy day and special occasion. In the Roman Church the original liturgy was of the former class; but in the eighth century under the influence of Charlemagne (768–814) it was enriched by the introduction of variable passages of the Gallican type, thus becoming a composite rite of a character intermediate between the two classes. In illustration of this it should be noted that in the Gallican rite not only is (1) the Collect varied from day to day, but also (2) the "prayer before the names" of the offerers, (3) the "prayer after the names," (4) the "prayer at the peace," (5) the *Scereta* or offertory-prayer, (6) the Preface, or introduction to the consecration-prayer, (7) the *Post-sanctus*, or commencement of the consecration-prayer, (8) the *Post-pridie*, or conclusion of the consecration-prayer, (9) the preamble to the Lord's Prayer, (10) the sequel to the Lord's Prayer, and (11) the Post-communion prayer. Of these the Roman rite retains only the Collect as a constant variable, while it has also a varying Preface on ten occasions, a clause answering to the Post-sanctus on six and one answering to the Post-pridie on three occasions.[81] Hence the Anglican rite, though its variable element is greatly curtailed, still preserves the same intermediate character.

The Syrian Liturgies demand notice first of all; for the earliest complete liturgy that we have in its original form is that already mentioned as contained in the Apostolic Constitutions,[82] representing the usages of the Church of Antioch in the latter half of the fourth century.[83] It is compiled as a model form for the consecration of a bishop, and may perhaps have been used in the diocese of the bishop who compiled it.[84] In any case it serves to show the type of liturgy that was current at that period. Since the compilation in which it is included purports to come from St. Clement of Rome, this liturgy is commonly called by his name; and it will be convenient to refer to it as the Clementine rite.

[81] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 121; Fortescue, *The Mass*, 178.

[82] Above, p. 22.

[83] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, xxix. For this and the other eastern liturgies the references will be to the pages of Dr. Brightman's work.

[84] Maclean, *Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Life*, etc. (S.P.C.K. 1915), 126.

The principal liturgy of the Syrian group, having close affinity to the Clementine, is known as the Liturgy of St. James the Lord's brother, representing the primitive liturgy of Jerusalem. It is certainly, as a whole, the liturgy which St. Cyril used there in 348.[85] It exists in two forms, Greek and Syriac.[86] In its Greek form it belonged to the orthodox Syrians who after the Mahometan invasion attached themselves to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and hence it has been largely influenced by the Byzantine liturgy. It is still used in many churches of Greece on the Feast of St. James (October 23).[87] The Syriac form is that of the Syrian Monophysites, who are commonly known as Jacobites or followers of James bishop of Edessa (684–708). It may be generally assumed that whatever is common to both forms of the liturgy of St. James must have belonged to it before the Council of Chalcedon (451) when the Monophysites became separated from the Orthodox Church. No copy of the Greek St. James exists of earlier date than the tenth century, nor of the Syriac earlier than the ninth century.[88]

It has been held that passages occurring in this liturgy and also in St. Paul's Epistles were derived by the Apostle from the liturgy and not vice versa.[89] If it had merely been urged that this liturgy preserves some primitive clauses with which St. Paul was familiar in their liturgical connection, and which he embodies in his writings, the argument would probably have carried more weight. But its over-statement has led liturgical scholars to refuse it the consideration which it deserved, and the question can hardly be regarded as finally settled.[90]

Upwards of forty derived Syrian liturgies, compiled at various periods, are enumerated.[91] They include those of the Syrian Uniat Church of Antioch, which joined itself to Rome in the

[85] Above, p. 23.

[86] Brightman, 31 *sqq.*, 69 *sqq.*

[87] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 325.

[88] Brightman, xlix. lx.

[89] Neale, *Essays in Liturgiology* (1867), 411 *sqq.*

[90] In my book, *The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1882), I endeavoured to follow up Dr. Neale's general view, while dissenting from his exaggerated statement of it. But I have to acknowledge that I had failed to recognise the full extent of that exaggeration, not only overlooking the large development of this liturgy under the influence of Constantinople, but also supposing that the general substance of it is purely primitive. The utmost that can be urged is that important passages in it, probably retained from the formularies of the temple-worship, and very familiar to St. Paul, have been handed down in it as he knew them.

[91] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 326 *sqq.* The majority of them are published by Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (1847), II. 126–556.

eighteenth century, and those of the so-called Maronite Church in the neighbourhood of Mount Lebanon, which entered the Roman communion in 1182.[92]

For the Byzantine Liturgy we have three examples. The ancient liturgy of Constantinople, as remodelled by St. Chrysostom, who was bishop from 398 to 407, is the normal rite of the Orthodox Eastern Church. In that of St. Basil, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia 370–379, we have the liturgy of the province of Pontus of which this was the metropolitan see; and when it was afterwards absorbed into the patriarchate of Constantinople the Cæsarean liturgy was sufficiently influential to hold its ground. It is used in the Orthodox Church on all Sundays in Lent except Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve, the Vigil of Christmas and the Epiphany, and the Feast of St. Basil (January 1).[93] These liturgies have probably undergone very little change. The earliest copy of them is a manuscript of the end of the eighth century at Rome, and there are others of the succeeding centuries.[94]

The Armenian Church was founded by St. Gregory the Illuminator towards the end of the third century;[95] and thus its liturgy serves to show the Byzantine usage of that period. It became dissociated from the Orthodox Church after the Council of Chalcedon in 451; but a large portion of it, known as the Uniat Armenians, were united with the Roman see in the fourteenth century, retaining their ancient liturgy, of which the earliest existing copy is at Lyons, of the year 1314.[96]

The Persian Liturgy, known as that of the Apostles Adæus and Maris,[97] is the ancient rite of the Nestorians, and cannot have been influenced by the neighbouring churches since the Council of Ephesus in 431. Two other liturgies, attributed to Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia (392–428) and to Nestorius bishop of Constantinople (428–435), are used on certain days.[98] The liturgy of the Apostles, so-called, is used also by the Uniat Chaldæan Churches, the one in Persia which was received into Communion with Rome in the seventeenth century, and the other in Malabar, known as the Christians of St. Thomas, which came under Portuguese influence in the sixteenth

[92] Brightman, lv.; Neale, *Eastern Church*, 154.
[93] Neale, 325.
[94] Brightman, lxxxviii. *sq.*
[95] Neale, 65.
[96] Brightman, xcviii.
[97] Brightman, 247 *sqq.*
[98] Renaudot, II. 561 *sqq.*

century; but the Malabar liturgy was greatly defaced by the action of the Synod of Diamper in 1599.[99]

Of the EGYPTIAN LITURGIES the earliest form is that already mentioned [1] as given in the *Ethiopic Church Ordinances*, corresponding with the Syrian rite in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but of somewhat earlier date. Like the latter, it is merely compiled as a model rite for the consecration of a bishop and may or may not have come into use. It has no introductory section, but begins with the Offertory.[2] An example of a purely Egyptian rite of the middle of the fourth century is the *Liturgy of Sarapion*,[3] bishop of Thmuis in Lower Egypt, discovered in recent years in a manuscript, apparently of the eleventh century, in the Lavra monastery of Mount Athos.

The liturgy which bears the name of St. Mark[4] was the ancient rite of the Orthodox Church in Alexandria. It was formulated by St. Cyril[5] who was patriarch of that see 412–444. Like the Greek-Syrian liturgy of St. James, it has been very largely assimilated to the Byzantine rite, and that rite entirely superseded it in the thirteenth century, while the earliest existing copy is of the twelfth century.[6] Other Alexandrine rites are those of St. Basil and St. Gregory,[7] the former used in Lent and the latter on festivals.[8]

The Monophysite bodies, separated from the Orthodox Church since the Council of Chalcedon, have their vernacular forms of the ancient Egyptian liturgy before it was influenced by Constantinople; the Coptic rites in Egypt being known as St. Mark's (otherwise St. Cyril's), St. Basil's, and St. Gregory's;[9] while the Ethiopic rite in Abyssinia is known as the Liturgy of All Apostles but is more particularly attributed to St. Basil.[10] Besides the normal forms there are fifteen varied forms of the Ethiopic rite.[11]

The ROMAN LITURGY claims to have its origin from St. Peter, and the claim is endorsed by the fact that between this rite and

[99] Brightman, lxxvii. *sq.*
[1] p. 22.
[2] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 189 *sqq.*
[3] *Bp. Sarapion's Prayer Book*, ed. Bp. J. Wordsworth (S.P.C.K.).
[4] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 113 *sqq.*
[5] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 323 *sq.*
[6] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, lxiv.; *The English Rite*, xxii.
[7] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.* I. 57 *sqq.*, 85 *sqq.*
[8] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 323.
[9] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.* I. 1–51; Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, lxviii. 144 *sqq.*; Neale, *Eastern Church*, 324.
[10] Mercer, *Ethiopic Liturgy*; Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 194 *sqq.*
[11] Brightman, *ibid.* lxxiv.; Neale, *Eastern Church*, 324.

the Egyptian, which bears the name of St. Peter's disciple St. Mark, there is a distinct similarity in several points where both differ from the general body of liturgies. The original language of both was Greek, and this was used in Rome down to about the year 400 or later, when Latin was adopted, though very probably the two had long been used side by side.[12] The survival of the Greek *Kyrie Eleison* in the Latin rite, as also in the Coptic and Ethiopic versions of the Egyptian rite, bears witness to the original language, exactly as the Hebrew liturgical words *Amen*, *Alleluia*, *Hosanna*, survive from the pre-Christian rites of Judaism. Tradition and probability alike point to the inference that the Latin rite became definitely fixed under St. Leo the Great (440–461), at the same period at which St. Cyril of Alexandria fixed the Egyptian rite. But the so-called *Leonine Sacramentary*, in a manuscript of the eleventh century, is only an unsystematic collection of variable parts which had now been introduced into the Roman rite after the Gallican model. The chief part of the liturgy, or the Canon of the Mass, first appears in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, the composition of which is traditionally ascribed to St. Gelasius, who was pope 492–496.[13] It assumes its present form in the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, the final changes in the Canon having been made by St. Gregory the Great (590–604)[14] An earlier form of the Canon appears in the treatise *De Sacramentis*, which is of North Italian origin and was probably compiled about the year 500.[15]

The further development of the liturgy appears in a description of the rite in the *First Roman Order*, which is thought to represent a document of the sixth century but was drawn up in its present form about 770;[16] and there is a similar description in a manuscript of about the year 800 which belonged to the abbey of St. Amand.[17] The document known as the *Second Roman Order* is a Gallicanised recension of the former, compiled also at the close of the eighth century,[18] and there are others of the next age.[19] Finally the missal was revised and assumed its present form under Pius V. in 1570; and it was then prescribed for universal use in the Roman churches of the West,

[12] Procter and Frere, *Hist. of the Prayer Book*, 440.

[13] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 120 *sq.*, 164.

[14] *Ibid.* 172.

[15] *Ibid.* 128 *sq. Cf.* English edition by T. Thompson (S.P.C.K, 1919).

[16] Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, 7.

[17] *Ibid.* 4, 153–165; Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (S.P.C.K.), 149, 455–480.

[18] Atchley, 8.

[19] Duchesne, 149.

except that the diocese of Lyons and some others and some religious orders were permitted to retain local usages of minor importance.[20] There were also the more important exceptions of the peculiar rites of Toledo and Milan presently to be noticed.

The GALLICAN LITURGY is the form which became general in early times throughout the churches of the West, including that of Northern Italy and only excepting the local Church of Rome. A very full account of it in the sixth century is given by St. Germain of Paris, who died in 576; [21] but in the Parisian rite which he describes some Byzantine features have been borrowed.[22]

The purest existing liturgy of the Gallican type is the Spanish, commonly known as the Mozarabic [23]—a term which is explained either as "mixed Arab" or as "Arabizers," being applied at first to the Arab-speaking Christians who lived under the Moorish rule in Southern Spain. It claims to have been regulated by St. Isidore bishop of Seville (595–636), and was universally used in Spain until the eleventh century when it was largely displaced by the Roman rite. It was finally revised and to some extent romanised by Cardinal Ximenes about the year 1500, but its use was confined to certain chapels in Toledo, Salamanca and Valladolid, and it is now used only in the first of these and on rare occasions in the second.[24]

The only other instance of a Gallican liturgy still in use within the Roman Communion is that of Milan, known as the Ambrosian [25] and claiming the authority of St. Ambrose, who was bishop of Milan 374–397. It has been very largely romanised and has the Roman canon; but on Maundy Thursday and Easter Eve its canon is an ancient form in which parts of its proper consecration-prayer are retained.

Several ancient forms of the Gallican rite are preserved, dating from the sixth century onwards and all marked with more or less of Roman influence. Such are the missals of Bobbio, otherwise called of Besançon (*Vesontionense*), and of Reichenau (*Richenovense*), and those designated *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, *Missale Gothicum*, and *Missale Francorum*.[26]

[20] Fortescue, 206 *sq.*
[21] Duchesne, 190–224.
[22] Fortescue, 101.
[23] *Missale Mixtum dictum Mozarabes*, ed. Leslie, Rome, 1755.
[24] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 105; Brightman, *The English Rite*, xix.*sq.*
[25] *Missale Ambrosianum*, ed. Card. Puteobonelli, Milan, 1768.
[26] These, except the second, are printed in Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venice, 1748). Vol. II., and except the last are in Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*.

Another is the so-called *Leofric Missal*, which was given to the Church of Exeter by Leofric its first bishop (1050–1072), but was written in Lotharingia early in the tenth century.[27]

In the Church of England the ancient liturgies were of a character similar to these. The rite which St. Augustine brought to Canterbury must have been the Gregorian form as then used at Rome. St. Berin would probably bring to Wessex a more distinctly Gallican form from Genoa, and that which St. Felix brought to East Anglia from Burgundy would doubtless be Gallican; but eventually the Canterbury use would supersede these and thus would become the chief factor in the subsequent development of the Sarum use. That used by the Celtic founders of the northern English Church would of course be entirely Gallican; but in these parts again, as in Scotland and Ireland, the Roman type became eventually accepted.

Of the ancient missals of these islands that have come down to us, the oldest is Irish written in the ninth or tenth century, now at Dublin, but formerly in the library of Stowe Park and hence known as the *Stowe Missal*.[28] A considerable fragment of an Irish Sacramentary, probably of the ninth century, is preserved at St. Gall.[29] There are also two Anglo-Saxon missals, both showing evidence of belonging to Winchester; the one the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1051–1070), written early in the eleventh century; the other known as the *Rede Boke of Darbye*, written later in the same century.[30] All these are of the Gallican type but have the canon of the Mass in the Gregorian form. There are others of a later date: the Drummond Missal of the eleventh century;[31] one of the twelfth century at Corpus Christi College, Oxford;[32] the Rosslyn Missal[33] of the thirteenth or fourteenth century and the Arbuthnott Missal of 1491;[34] but these are merely Roman or Sarum books modified by the addition of some Scottish and Irish usages.[35]

The three uses which existed in the English Church in the fifteenth century, being alike forms of the Gregorian rite, differed from each other in the degrees in which Gallican

[27] *The Leofric Missal*, ed. E. F. Warren (1883), pp. xix. xx. xxvi.
[28] Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 198 *sqq.*
[29] *Ibid.* 174 *sqq.*
[30] Warren, *Leofric Missal*, xix.
[31] Ed. Forbes (1882).
[32] *Missale Vetus Hibernicum*, ed. Warren (1879).
[33] Ed. Lawlor (1899).
[34] Ed. Forbes (1864).
[35] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 166, 269.

features survived in them. Such features appear very abundantly in the York Missal.[36] The Hereford Missal [37] on the other hand is the most completely romanised of the three, this being probably the result of its revision by Bishop Trilleck (1344–1361); [38] while the Sarum Missal,[39] which was revised by St. Osmund (1078–1099) and was the most widely used and the most influential of the three, stands in a middle position, being much more romanised than that of York but much less than that of Hereford. The uses of Bangor and of Lincoln, mentioned in the Preface of the Prayer Book, were nothing more than editions of the Sarum use.[40]

[36] *Missale Eccl. Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson (Surtees Soc.), 1872.

[37] *Missale Eccl. Herefordensis*, ed. Henderson, 1874.

[38] Procter and Frere, *Hist. of the Prayer Book*, 22.

[39] *Missale ad Usum Sarum* Burntisland, 1861.

[40] Procter and Frere, as above.

PART II

THE LITURGY OF 1549

THE LITURGY OF 1549

Section I.

THE PREPARATORY PORTION.

Title and Introductory Rubrics.

THE SUPPER OF THE LORD
AND
THE HOLY COMMUNION
COMMONLY CALLED
THE MASS.

So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate overnight, or else in the morning, afore the beginning of Matins, or immediately after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious evil liver, so that the congregation by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed: the Curate shall call him, and advertise him, in any wise not to presume to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented, and amended his former naughty life: that the congregation may thereby be satisfied, which afore were offended: and that he have recompensed the parties, whom he hath done wrong unto, or at least be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.

The same order shall the Curate use, with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign, not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's table, until he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variance be content to forgive from the bottom of his heart all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for

that he himself hath offended: and the other party will not be persuaded to a godly unity, but remain still in his frowardness and malice: The Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the Holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate.

Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope. And where there be many Priests or Deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the Priest, in the ministration, as shall be requisite: And shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, Albes with tunicles.

i. Introductory Prayers, etc.

Then shall the Clerks sing in English for the Office, or Introit, (as they call it,) a Psalm appointed for the day.

The Priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this collect.

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts be open, and all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit: that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall he say a Psalm appointed for the introit: which Psalm ended, the Priest shall say, or else the Clerks shall sing,

iii. Lord have mercy upon us.
iii. Christ have mercy upon us.
iii. Lord have mercy upon us.

ii. Lessons of Scripture, etc.

Then the Priest standing at God's board shall begin,

Glory be to God on high.

The Clerks. And in earth peace, good will towards men.

We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord the only begotten Son Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer.

Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us: For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord. Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Priest shall turn him to the people and say,

The Lord be with you.

The Answer. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Let us pray.

Then shall follow the Collect for the day, with one of these two Collects following, for the King.

Priest. Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon the whole congregation, and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Edward the sixth, our king and governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things, seek thy honour and glory, and that we his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance: through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we be taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose, and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom: We humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the heart of Edward the sixth, thy servant, our King and governor, that in all his thoughts, words, and works, he may ever seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness: Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Collects ended, the Priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying,

The Epistle of St. Paul, written in the —— Chapter of —— to the ——

The Minister then shall read the Epistle. Immediately after

the Epistle ended, the Priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall say,

The holy Gospel, written in the —— Chapter of ——

The Clerks and people shall answer,

Glory be to thee, O Lord.

The Priest or Deacon then shall read the Gospel:

After the Gospel ended, the Priest shall begin,

I believe in one God.

The Clerks shall sing the rest.

The Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made, Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was Incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father: And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. Amen.

After the Creed ended, shall follow the Sermon or Homily, or some portion of one of the Homilies, as they shall be hereafter divided; wherein if the people be not exhorted to the worthy receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, then shall the Curate give this exhortation, to those that be minded to receive the same.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves,

before they presume to eat of that bread and drink of that cup: for as the benefit is great, if with a truly penitent heart, and lively faith, we receive that holy Sacrament; (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, we be made one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily; for then we become guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour, we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body. We kindle God's wrath over us, we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Therefore if any here be a blasphemer, advouterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime (except he be truly sorry therefore, and earnestly minded to leave the same vices, and do trust himself to be reconciled to Almighty God, and in charity with all the world), let him bewail his sins, and not come to that holy table; lest after the taking of that most holy bread, the devil enter into him, as he did into Judas, to fill him full of all iniquity, and bring him to destruction, both of body and soul. Judge therefore yourselves (brethren) that ye be not judged of the Lord. Let your mind be without desire to sin, repent you truly for your sins past, have an earnest and lively faith in Christ our Saviour, be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things: ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross, for us miserable sinners, which lay in darkness and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life, And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding love of our Master, and only Saviour Jesu Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits, which (by his precious blood-shedding) he hath obtained to us, he hath left in those holy mysteries, as a pledge of his love, and a continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed body, and precious blood, for us to feed upon spiritually, to our endless comfort and consolation. To him, therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life. Amen.

In Cathedral Churches or other places, where there is daily Communion, it shall be sufficient, to read this exhortation above written, once in a month. And in parish churches, upon the weekdays it may be left unsaid.

And if upon the Sunday or holyday, the people be negligent to come to the Communion: Then shall the Priest earnestly exhort his parishioners, to dispose themselves to the receiving of the holy Communion more diligently, saying these or like words unto them.

Dear friends, and you especially upon whose souls I have cure and charge, on next, I do intend by God's grace, to offer to all such as shall be godly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, to be taken of them in the remembrance of his most fruitful and glorious Passion: by the which passion we have obtained remission of our sins and be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven, whereof we be assured and ascertained, if we come to the said Sacrament with hearty repentance for our offences, stedfast faith in God's mercy, and earnest mind to obey God's will, and to offend no more. Wherefore our duty is to come to these holy mysteries, with most hearty thanks to be given to Almighty God for his infinite mercy and benefits given and bestowed upon us his unworthy servants, for whom he hath not only given his body to death, and shed his blood, but also doth vouchsafe in a Sacrament and mystery to give us his said body and blood to feed upon spiritually. The which Sacrament being so divine and holy a thing, and so comfortable to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to take the same unworthily; My duty is to exhort you in the mean season, to consider the greatness of the thing, and to search and examine your own consciences, and that not lightly nor after the manner of dissimulers with God: but as they which should come to a most Godly and heavenly banquet, not to come but in the marriage garment required of God in Scripture; that you may (so much as lieth in you) be found worthy to come to such a table. The ways and means thereto is, First that you be truly repentant of your former evil life, and that you confess with an unfeigned heart to Almighty God your sins and unkindness towards his Majesty committed, either by will, word, or deed, infirmity or ignorance: and that with inward sorrow and tears you bewail your offences, and require of Almighty God mercy and pardon, promising to him (from the bottom of your

hearts) the amendment of your former life. And amongst all others, I am commanded of God, especially to move and exhort you to reconcile yourselves to your neighbours, whom you have offended, or who hath offended you, putting out of your hearts all hatred and malice against them, and to be in love and charity with all the world, and to forgive other as you would that God should forgive you. And if any man have done wrong to any other, let him make satisfaction, and due restitution of all lands and goods, wrongfully taken away or withholden, before he come to God's board, or at the least be in full mind and purpose so to do, as soon as he is able; or else let him not come to this holy table, thinking to deceive God, who seeth all men's hearts. For neither the absolution of the priest can anything avail them, nor the receiving of this holy sacrament doth any thing but increase their damnation. And if there be any of you, whose conscience is troubled and grieved in any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved, and that of us (as of the ministers of God and of the Church), he may receive comfort and absolution, to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness; requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the church. But in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's word to the same.

Section II.

THE OFFERTORY.

Then shall follow for the Offertory one or more of these sentences of Holy Scripture, to be sung whiles the people do

offer, or else one of them to be said by the Minister, immediately afore the offering.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. *Mat.* v.

Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon the earth; where the rust and moth doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven; where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. *Mat.* vi.

Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, even so do you unto them; for this is the law and the Prophets. *Mat.* vii.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *Mat.* vii.

Zacchee stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have done any wrong to any man, I restore fourfold. *Luc.* xix.

Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own cost? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 1 *Cor.* ix.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your worldly things? 1 *Cor.* ix.

Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the sacrifice? They which wait of the altar are par takers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord also ordained: that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. 1 *Cor.* ix.

He which soweth little, shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart; not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver. 2 *Cor.* ix.

Let him that is taught in the word, minister unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked. For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap. *Gala.* vi.

While we have time, let us do good unto all men, and specially unto them, which are of the household of faith. *Gala.* vi.

Godliness is great riches, if a man be contented with that he

hath: For we brought nothing into the world, neither may we carry anything out. 1 *Timo.* vi.

Charge them which are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation, against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life. 1 *Timo.* vi.

God is not unrighteous, that he will forget your works and labour, that proceedeth of love, which love ye have shewed for his name's sake, which have ministered unto the saints, and yet do minister. *Hebre.* vi.

To do good, and to distribute, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is pleased. *Hebre.* xiii.

Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? 1 *John* iii.

Give alms of thy goods, and turn never thy face from any poor man, and then the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee. *Toby* iv.

Be merciful after thy power: if thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little: for so gatherest thou thyself a good reward in the day of necessity. *Toby* iv.

He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and look, what he layeth out, it shall be paid him again. *Prov.* xix.

Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy; the Lord shall deliver him, in the time of trouble. *Psalm* xli.

Where there be Clerks, they shall sing one, or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time, that the people be offering.

In the mean time, whiles the Clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed, shall offer to the poor men's box every one according to his ability and charitable mind. And at the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings.

Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and Clerks.

Then shall the minister take so much Bread and Wine, as

shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose: And putting the wine into the Chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup, prepared for that use (if the Chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean water: And setting both the bread and the wine upon the Altar.

Section III.

THE CONSECRATION.

Then the Priest shall say, The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy Spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks to our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

The Priest. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty everlasting God.

Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time (if there be any specially appointed), or else immediately shall follow,

Therefore with angels, *etc.*

PROPER PREFACES.

Upon Christmas-day.

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as this day for us, who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very man, of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore, *etc.*

Upon Easter-day.

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious Resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord: for he is the very Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us, and hath

taken away the sin of the world, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore *etc.*

Upon the ASCENSION-DAY.

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who after his most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore *etc.*

Upon WHITSUNDAY.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down this day from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth; giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal, constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darkness and error, into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore *etc.*

Upon the Feast of the Trinity.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one only Person, but three Persons in one Substance: For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference, or inequality; whom the angels *etc.*

After which Preface shall follow immediately,

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the holy company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts: heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Osannah in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Glory to thee, O Lord, in the highest.

This the Clerks shall also sing.

When the Clerks have done singing, then shall the Priest, or Deacon, turn him to the people, and say,

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Then the Priest, turning him to the Altar, shall say or sing, plainly and distinctly, this prayer following:

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, which by thy holy apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. Specially we beseech thee to save and defend thy servant Edward our King, that under him we may be Godly and quietly governed. And grant unto his whole Council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace (O heavenly Father) to all Bishops, Pastors, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort and succour all them, which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son. And here we do give unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, whose examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy, and everlasting peace,

and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.

O God heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesu Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation, once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to celebrate, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again. Hear us (O merciful Father), we beseech thee; and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.

Here the Priest must take the Bread into his hands.

Who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took Bread; and, when he had blessed and given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take, eat, This is my body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.

Here the Priest shall take the Cup into his hands.

Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins: Do this as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

These words before rehearsed are to be said, turning still to the Altar, without any elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.

WHEREFORE, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the Institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy son hath willed us to make: having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks, for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely

desiring thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee (O Lord) ourself, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with thy Son Jesus Christ, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy (through our manifold sins) to offer unto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy divine majesty; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord; By whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Let us pray.

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation.

The Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Then shall the Priest say,

The peace of the Lord be alway with you.

The Clerks. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Christ our paschal Lamb is offered up for us, once for all, when he bare our sins on his body upon the cross; for he is the very Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world: wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord.

Section IV.

THE COMMUNION.

Here the Priest shall turn him toward those that come to the Holy Communion, and shall say,

YOU that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins to Almighty God, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: draw near and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort, make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to his holy church here gathered together in his name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

ALMIGHTY GOD, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we knowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us: we do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings: the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burthen of them is intolerable: have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Then shall the Priest stand up, and turning himself to the people, say thus:

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy, hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them, which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest also say,

HEAR what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith, to all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me all that travail, and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you. So God loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him, should not perish, but have life everlasting.

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Hear also what Saint John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins.

Then shall the Priest, turning him to God's board, kneel down, and say in the name of all them, that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table: but thou art the same Lord whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood. Amen.

Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Ministers, if any be there present, (that they may be ready to help the chief Minister,) and after to the people.

And when he delivereth the Sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words:

THE body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

And the Minister delivering the Sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink, once and no more, shall say,

THE blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

If there be a Deacon, or other Priest, then shall he follow with the Chalice; and as the Priest ministereth the Sacrament

of the body, so shall he (for more expedition) minister the Sacrament of the blood, in form before written.

In the communion time the Clerks shall sing.

ii. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: grant us thy peace.

Beginning so soon as the Priest doth receive the holy Communion, and when the Communion is ended, then shall the Clerks sing the post-Communion.

Sentences of holy Scripture, to be said or sung every day one, after the holy Communion, called the post-Communion.

If any man will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. *Math.* xvi.

Whosoever shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved. *Mar.* xiii.

Praised be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people: therefore let us serve him all the days of our life, in holiness and righteousness accepted before him. *Luc.* i.

Happy are those servants, whom the Lord (when he cometh) shall find waking. *Luc.* xii.

Be ye ready, for the Son of Man will come at an hour when ye think not. *Luc.* xii.

The servant that knoweth his master's will, and hath not prepared himself, neither hath done according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. *Luc.* xii.

The hour cometh, and now it is, when true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth. *John* iv.

Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest any worse thing happen unto thee. *John* v.

If ye shall continue in my word, then are ye my very disciples, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. *John* viii.

While ye have light believe on the light, that ye may be the children of light. *John* xii.

He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, the same is he that loveth me. *John* xiv.

If any man love me he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and dwell with him. *John* xiv.

If ye shall bide in me, and my word shall abide in you,

ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done to you. *John* xv.

Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, and become my disciples. *John* xv.

This is my commandment, that you love together, as I have loved you. *John* xv.

If God be on our side, who can be against us? which did not spare his own Son, but gave him for us all. *Roma.* viii.

Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's chosen? it is GOD that justifieth; who is he that can condemn? *Roma.* viii.

The night is past, and the day is at hand: let us therefore cast away the deeds of darkness, and put on the armour of light. *Roma.* xiii.

Christ Jesus is made of GOD, unto us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctifying, and redemption, that (according as it is written) He which rejoiceth, should rejoice in the Lord. 1 *Corin.* i.

Know ye not that ye are the temple of GOD, and that the Spirit of GOD dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of GOD, him shall God destroy. 1 *Corin.* iii.

Ye are dearly bought; therefore glorify God in your bodies, and in your spirits for they belong to God. 1 *Corin.* vi.

Be you followers of God as dear children, and walk in love, even as Christ loved us, and gave himself for us an offering and a Sacrifice of a sweet savour to God. *Ephes.* v.

Then the Priest shall give thanks to God, in the name of all them that have communicated, turning him first to the people and saying,

The Lord be with you.

The Answer. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everliving GOD, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feed us in these holy Mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and hast assured us, duly receiving the same, of thy favour and goodness toward us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear

Son. We therefore most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works, as thou hast prepared for us to walk in: through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end.

Then the Priest turning him to the people, shall let them depart with this blessing:

THE peace of God (which passeth all understanding) keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you alway.

Then the people shall answer, Amen.

Where there are no Clerks, there the Priest shall say all things appointed here for them to sing.

When the holy Communion is celebrate on the workday, or in private houses: Then may be omitted, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation, beginning, Dearly beloved, etc.

Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, every such day one.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants toward the attainment of everlasting salvation: that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Almighty Lord, and everliving God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments: that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul: through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words which we have heard this day with our outward ears, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy name: through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our

works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life: through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: We beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities, and those things, which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us for the worthiness of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty God, which hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's name, we beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee: and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory: through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For Rain.

O God heavenly Father, which by thy Son Jesu Christ hast promised to all them that seek thy kingdom, and the righteousness thereof, all things necessary to the bodily sustenance: Send us, we beseech thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth, to our comfort and to thy honour; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

For fair Weather.

O Lord God, which for the sin of man, didst once drown all the world, except eight persons, and afterward of thy great mercy didst promise never to destroy it so again: We humbly beseech thee, that although we for our iniquities have worthily deserved this plague of rain and waters, yet upon our true repentance thou wilt send us such weather, whereby we may receive the fruits of the earth in due season, and learn both by thy punishment to amend our lives, and by the granting of our petition to give thee praise and glory; through Jesu Christ our Lord.

Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the king's majesty's Injunctions: Or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his highness. And though there be none to communicate with the priest yet these days (after the Litany ended) the priest shall put upon him a plain Albe or surplice, with a

cope, and say all things at the Altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper), until after the Offertory. And then shall add one or two of the Collects aforewritten, as occasion shall serve, by his discretion. And then turning him to the people shall let them depart with the accustomed blessing.

And the same order shall be used all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the church, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest.

Likewise in chapels annexed, and all other places, there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be some to communicate with the Priest. And in such chapels annexed where the people hath not been accustomed to pay any holy bread, there they must either make some charitable provision for the bearing of the charges of the Communion or else (for receiving the same) resort to their parish church.

For avoiding of all matters and occasion of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made, through all this realm, after one sort and fashion; that is to say, unleavened, and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces: and every one shall be divided in two pieces, at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

And forsomuch as the Pastors and Curates within this realm shall continually find at their costs and charges in their cures, sufficient bread and wine for the holy Communion (as oft as their parishioners shall be disposed for their spiritual comfort to receive the same), it is therefore ordered, that in recompence of such costs and charges, the Parishioners of every Parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just valour and price of the holy loaf (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of their Pastors and Curates, and that in such order and course, as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf.

Also that the receiving of the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ, may be most agreeable to the institution thereof, and to the usage of the primitive Church: In all Cathedral and Collegiate churches, there shall always some communicate with the Priest that ministereth. And that the same may be also observed every where abroad in the country:

Some one at the least of that house in every Parish, to whom by course, after the ordinance herein made, it appertaineth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall provide to offer for them, shall receive the holy Communion with the Priest: the which may be the better done, for that they know before, when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament. And with him or them who doth so offer the charges of the Communion, all other, who be then Godly disposed thereunto, shall likewise receive the Communion. And by this means the minister having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnise so high and holy mysteries, with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same. And the Priest on the weekday shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he have some that will communicate with him.

Furthermore, every man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the divine service, in the Parish Church where they be resident, and there with devout prayer, or Godly silence and meditation, to occupy themselves. There to pay their duties, to communicate once in the year at the least, and there to receive and take all other Sacraments and rites, in this book appointed. And whosoever willingly, upon no just cause, doth absent themselves, or doth ungodly in the Parish Church occupy themselves: upon proof thereof, by the Ecclesiastical laws of the realm, to be excommunicate, or suffer other punishment, as shall to the Ecclesiastical judge (according to his discretion) seem convenient.

And although it be read in ancient writers, that the people, many years past, received at the Priest's hands the Sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness: lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole Realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths, at the Priest's hand.

PART III

COMPARISON OF THE LITURGY OF 1661

COMPARISON OF THE LITURGY OF 1661

Section I.

THE PREPARATORY PORTION.

I.—Title and Introductory Rubrics.

1549.	1661.
The Supper of the Lord and The Holy Communion, commonly called The Mass.	The Order for the Administration of The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.
Rubrics.	*Rubrics.*
Notice to be given by intending partakers.	Notice to be given by intending partakers.
Evil livers to be repelled.	Evil livers to be repelled.
Parties at variance to be reconciled.	Parties at variance to be reconciled.
	Persons repelled to be reported to the Ordinary.
Vesture of the Ministers.	
	Position of the Table.
Position of the Priest.	Position of the Priest.

1661.

In the Title of the service the significance of the changes will be better understood if it be recollected that the medieval service had been commonly known as "the Mass" and that this was ordinarily celebrated without any communicants besides the priest, an administration of communion being only

an occasional adjunct to it; but in 1548 "The Order of the Communion" in English [1] was issued to be appended to the Latin Mass. This Order was incorporated into the service of 1549, which was now designated "The Supper of the Lord *and* the Holy Communion," implying that it consisted of the same two parts as before. In other words, the service previously known as "the Mass," apart from the communion of the people, was now called "The Supper of the Lord"; and at the same time the service which had been regarded as twofold, consisting of "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion," was now to be regarded as one, both parts being included in the complete whole "commonly called the Mass."

The term "Mass" originally means "dismissal," *missa* being an ancient form of *missio*; [2] and it is used in that sense in the fourth century, as in the "Pilgrimage of Etheria." [3] It appears to have originated from the Dismissal (*missa*) of the catechumens after the introductory portion of the service, whence the service from which they are dismissed came to be called the mass of the catechumens, and then by analogy the remainder of the service was called the mass of the faithful.[4] The term "mass," therefore, was entirely devoid of any doctrinal meaning, but in popular usage it betokened the eucharistic rite as apart from the reception of communion, and hence it was dropped by the revisers of 1552 in their desire to bring the thought of reception to the forefront. At the same time those revisers retained the two other terms but altered the application of them, using them no longer as designating the two portions of the service separately but as alternative designations of the whole, "The Lord's Supper *or* Holy Communion"; and they linked the two portions together the more closely into one by prefixing the words "The Order for the Administration of" it. It may be noted, too, that in this title they were adopting in an amplified form the title which had previously been used in 1548, "The Order . . . of the . . . Communion," and by thus applying the term "Holy Communion" to the entire rite they emphasised still further the truth that the reception is an essential part of the service and not merely something added to it.

The term "The Supper of the Lord," adopted by the revisers

[1] See below, p. 82.
[2] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 382.
[3] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 496, 551. See above, p. 25.
[4] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 582; *cf.* 467.

of 1549, is first used by St. Paul, but merely in a negative way, in reference to the abuses of the Corinthian love-feasts, where he says that when they assemble together "it is not to eat a supper of the Lord."[5] The Latin missal applies the term to the paschal supper at which the holy Eucharist was instituted, Maundy Thursday being entitled the Thursday of the Lord's Supper (*feria quinta in coena Domini*); and thus the English translators regarded it as synonymous with the holy Eucharist itself.

In the INTRODUCTORY RUBRICS some changes of more or less importance have been made. In the first clause, requiring notice to be given by intending communicants, instead of "over night," etc., the revisers of 1661 substituted "at least some time the day before." In the next clause, after the mention of "the curate," the words "having knowledge thereof" are an insertion of 1552. The third clause remains unchanged; but an additional passage was appended in 1661 providing that every minister so repelling any shall give an account of the same to the Ordinary, etc.

The clause prescribing the vesture was omitted in 1552, being superseded by a note prefixed to the Order of Morning Prayer: "And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor Cope; but being Archbishop or Bishop he shall have and wear a rochet: and being a priest or deacon he shall have and wear a surplice only." The Elizabethan revisers in 1559 altered this note, and directed "that the minister, etc. (as before), shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. according to the act of parliament set in the beginning of this book." The revisers of 1661 retained the same note in the simplified form in which it now stands.

In place of the rubric which had prescribed the vesture for the holy Communion the present rubric relating to the covering and position of the Table was inserted in 1552.

"The Lord's Table," mentioned twice in the opening rubrics of 1549, was called "the altar" in the last clause of them and in three subsequent rubrics, while in three other places it was "God's board." The term "altar" was discarded in 1552, though it has always been retained in the authorised service for

[5] 1 Cor. xi. 20, οὐκ ἔστιν Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν. See above, p. 14.

the royal coronations. "God's board" was retained until 1661. From that year we have "the Table," or else "the Lord's Table," and in one place "the holy Table."

The rubric directing the priest's position, "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar," has been changed from 1552 to "standing at the north side of the Table."

i. Introductory Prayers, etc.

1549.	1661.
Introit.	
(The Lord's Prayer and Collect for Cleansing.)	(The Lord's Prayer and Collect for Cleansing.)
	The Ten Commandments, with
Ninefold *Kyrie*.	Tenfold *Kyrie*.

1661.

In this opening section of the liturgy the chief difference which distinguishes the later form from that of 1549 is the absence of any direction for Psalmody and the substitution of a penitential element in the reading of the Ten Commandments, with the petition for mercy appended to each.

The Introit, consisting of a Psalm appointed for each Sunday and holy day (the twenty-two portions of Psalm cxix. being assigned to as many Sundays after Trinity), was dropped in 1552. But the use of Psalmody in some form appears to have been always continued at this point by traditional custom.

The Ten Commandments were introduced in 1552, and the *Kyries* were interspersed between these, the address of *Christ* in the central group being changed to *Lord* as in the others. At the same time the clause "and incline our hearts to keep this law" was added to each and a tenth *Kyrie* was appended after the last commandment, with the addition "and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee." Also the words "or else the clerks shall sing" were omitted, and the Kyries were directed to be said by the people, the intention being explained that they "shall after every commandment ask God's mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort." The further words, "for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come," were added in 1661. But in practice the custom of singing the Kyries has always been recognised as legitimate. It may be noted that the Scottish rite allows the

Gospel summary of the Law, from St. Matthew xxii. 37–40, as an alternative to the commandments, and the American rite allows this to be said in addition to them.

The Lord's Prayer remains unchanged, except that the text of it was not fully printed until 1661; and the Collect for Cleansing also remains unchanged. But these formed no part of the public service in 1549, the priest being directed to say them while the clerks sing the introit, and then he was to say the introit and finally the Kyries if these were not sung. Thus the people's service began with the introit and the Kyries, whether sung by the clerks or said audibly by the priest. The same direction to the priest to "say the Lord's Prayer with this Collect following" remained in 1552, and stands in contrast with the next rubric, "Then shall the priest rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments." The direction added in 1661 at Mattins, that the people shall repeat the Lord's Prayer with the minister "both here and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service," has never been regarded as applying to the Prayer in this place. Thus all the facts indicate that it was intended to be said here silently by the priest. There appears to be no evidence to show when the custom arose of saying it aloud; but doubtless it was gradually assumed that this was intended.

ii. Lessons of Scripture, etc.

1549.	1661.
Gloria in Excelsis.	
Salutation.	
Collects.	Collects.
Epistle.	Epistle.
Gospel.	Gospel.
Creed.	Creed.
Sermon or Homily.	Sermon or Homily.
Exhortation.	[Warning of Communion.]
[Occasional Exhortation.]	[Appeal to the negligent.]

1661.

The Gloria in Excelsis, which had stood as an introductory hymn before the Collects and Lections, was deferred in 1552 to serve as a concluding hymn at the close of the entire service; and the permission to omit it "on the work day," given in the final rubrics of 1549, was then removed.

The disuse of the term "God's board," in the rubric before the hymn, has been noticed above.

The SALUTATION and response preceding the Collects were omitted in 1552; and at the same time "Let us pray," which had been said before each of the Collects, was only retained before the first.

The order of the COLLECTS was changed in 1661, when that for the King, which had previously been the last in order, was directed to be said first. The restoration of the monarchy doubtless suggested the fitness of giving this Collect the fullest prominence; but it can hardly be denied that the Collect for the day, giving the keynote to the whole service, should more fitly take precedence, as in the older order.

The series of Collects (with the accompanying Epistles and Gospels) remains as in 1549, with certain exceptions. Those for second communions on Christmas Day and Easter Day, and that for St. Mary Magdalene's Day (July 22) were omitted in 1552. Provision was made for a sixth Sunday after the Epiphany in 1661. The ancient Collect for the third Sunday in Advent was retained until 1661, when the present one was composed; and the Collect of 1549 for St. Andrew's Day gave place to the present one in 1552.

In the directions for reading THE EPISTLE and THE GOSPEL the revisers of 1552 omitted several details; namely the words "or he that is appointed" (as an alternative for the priest) in both places; the subsequent mention of "The Deacon"; the reference to "a place assigned for the purpose" of the Epistle, and the name of "Saint Paul" in connection with it. They also omitted the word "holy" in announcing the Gospel; but this was restored by the revisers of 1661, who also added the direction, "the people all standing up." The response, "Glory," etc., after the announcement of the Gospel was omitted in 1552, but has always been retained in customary usage and is prescribed in the Scottish and American books.

In the rubrics relating to THE CREED, instead of the directions that "the Priest shall begin" and "the Clerks shall sing the rest," the book of 1552 substituted: "And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said the Creed." The directions that the Creed "shall be said or sung," and "the people still standing," date from 1661. The clause "Whose Kingdom shall have none end," omitted presumably by oversight[6] in

[6] But see Dowden. *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, 106.

1549, was inserted in 1552. In that year also the permission, given in the final rubrics, to omit the Creed and also the Homily "on the workday," was withdrawn.

The rubric after the Creed, directing that the SERMON or HOMILY shall follow, has in view the first Book of Homilies, which had been published in 1547; and the contemplated change in the division of them, to which it refers, was carried out in a second edition which appeared later in 1549, where they were divided as they are now.[7] Hence the permission to use only "some portion of one of the Homilies," and the mention of their being "hereafter divided," were omitted in 1552. The altered rubric then ran: "After the Creed, if there be no sermon, shall follow one of the homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common authority." But the revisers of 1661 restored the direction of 1549, "Then shall follow the sermon," etc. To this rubric another was added in 1552, directing that "After such sermon, homily, or exhortation, the Curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy days or fasting days the week following" (with a further clause to be noticed later). This was altered to its present form in 1661 and was placed before the rubric relating to the sermon.

The two EXHORTATIONS of 1549 had already appeared in "The Order of the Communion" which had been issued in 1548; one to "give warning" of the Communion "the next Sunday or holy day or at the least one day before"; the other as an exhortation "to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion." In 1549 the second was placed first to serve the same purpose as before. A passage had been appended to it as a separate address "to them which be ready to take the Sacrament," beginning, "If any man here be an open blasphemer," and ending, "to fulfil in him all iniquity, and to bring him to destruction, both of body and soul": and this was now inserted in the middle of the Exhortation. The Warning of 1548 was adapted for occasional use as an exhortation to the negligent, in which the passage beginning "And if any man have done wrong to any other," as far as the words "increase their damnation," was now newly added. A few words and phrases were altered at the same time. The book of 1552 made further changes. It had three Exhortations; but they were to be read later, after the offertory-prayer. The first

[7] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. lxix.

was a newly compiled appeal to the negligent, to be used "at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion." The second was an adaptation of the former exhortation to the negligent, remodelled as a warning in preparation for Communion, and to be said "at the discretion of the Curate." The third was the former exhortation to communion, also remodelled, and to be said (as the rubric implies) always. The revisers of 1661 made changes in the first and second of these and adapted them to be used "when the minister giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion"; and though these are still placed after the Offertory, as in 1552, they are to be read in their original position "after the Sermon or Homily ended." The third exhortation is to be said "at the time of the celebration of the Communion" in the position which it took in 1552. In the Warning for Communion, which is for the most part identical with the second exhortation of 1549, the first paragraph of that year, as far as the words "to offend no more," was omitted in 1552; but the larger part of it, as far as the words "partakers of the Kingdom of heaven," was restored with some verbal changes in 1661. The opening clause in 1552 was: "Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's word as by the holy Sacraments of his blessed body and blood"; which latter clause was abbreviated in 1661 to "sustenance in that holy Sacrament." In 1552 the next clause continued: "Which being so comfortable a thing," etc.; and this and the remaining passages were recast in the form which the revisers of 1661 have with some verbal differences retained. The Appeal to the Negligent, added in 1661 as an alternative to this Warning, is an adaptation of the first exhortation of 1552 and is in the main substantially identical with it. In its original form it began: "We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's supper, unto the which in God's behalf I bid you all that be here present": after which it continued as now down to the clause, "to receive the Communion together in the remembrance of his death, as he himself commanded"; where the revisers of 1661 wrote "of the sacrifice of his death": and it concluded with a passage

of which the chief portion was omitted in 1661: "Now if you will in no wise thus do, consider with yourselves how great injury you do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same. And whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy Banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more: which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God. Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this holy Communion with other. I pray you what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all: Take ye and eat, Take and drink ye all of this: Do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should do so, depart you hence and give place unto them that be Godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you ponder with yourselves from whom ye depart: ye depart from the Lord's table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by God's grace return to a better mind: for the obtaining whereof, we shall make our humble petitions while we shall receive the holy Communion." Of this passage of 1552 the revisers of 1661 retained the opening and concluding portions, with some slight changes; omitting the central portion which seemed to imply that those who were not communicating were mere "gazers and lookers on" and that all must "depart" except those who were actually receiving. It may be presumed that the revisers had no wish to expel devout persons who on any particular occasion thought it better not to communicate.

Section II.

THE OFFERTORY.

1549	1662.
Offertory Sentences.	Offertory Sentences. Offertory Prayer, with Intercession. Exhortation. Invitation. Confession. Absolution.

1661.

Large additions have been made in this section of the service where in 1549 nothing but the sentences of holy Scripture had been said and nothing further had intervened between these and the salutation preceding *Sursum Corda*. The revisers of 1552 added an offertory-prayer, prefixing it to the intercession, which they removed here from the place where it stood in the next section of the service. They also inserted here the Exhortation, which has already been noticed following the sermon. Further, they added the Invitation to the communicants and the passages following it which had stood between the consecration and the reception of communion. It will be found that in some important points these changes brought the service into much closer accord with ancient precedents, while in other respects the result was the opposite of this.

The Introductory Rubric prefixed to the sentences of Scripture has undergone successive changes. In 1552, on the removal of the Exhortations which had intervened, it became combined with the previous rubric already noticed, relating to the Sermon and the notices which "the Curate shall declare unto the people," continuing it thus: "And earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion." The revisers of 1661 amended this, directing that "Then shall the priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more," etc. (as before).

The term "Offertory," representing the ancient *Offertorium* or anthem of the oblation, was applied in 1549 to the sentences of holy Scripture which "shall follow for the Offertory"; and a subsequent rubric directs what shall be done "whiles the clerks do sing the Offertory." The term disappeared in 1552. But the Scottish service of 1637 speaks of the "sentences for the Offertory," and the revisers of 1661 restored the term, though not using it of the anthem but rather as a designation of this section of the service. It had been used in that sense in ancient times.[8] Hence this is now called "the Offertory," even though it may stop short at the offering of alms only; but it should be observed that this lends no support to the corrupt modern custom which speaks of a collection of alms as itself an Offertory. The rubric, therefore, requiring one or more of the sentences to be sung during the offering or else one to be said by the minister immediately before it, has given place to the direction that the priest shall say one or more of them, while the mention of their being sung has been dropped.

The SENTENCES OF SCRIPTURE, twenty in number, which were introduced as Offertory-anthems in 1549, have remained unaltered except in such minor details as the change of *contented* to *content* and of the names *Zachee* and *Toby* to *Zacchæus* and *Tobit*. They were obviously chosen with special reference to almsgiving; some inculcating good works in general, others charity to the poor, others the support of the ministry. It would seem to be merely an accident that the majority of them take the form of hortatory addresses to the people; but the rubric of 1552 directly treats them as exhortations "to remember the poor." By the revision of 1661 these sentences recover their original character as the anthems of the Offertory, though the direction to sing them has not been restored; but it appears in the Latin version of 1560: "Then let one or more of these sentences following be sung or said."

The rubric immediately following the sentences, and directing that they shall be sung, was merely supplementary to the previous rubric and was omitted in 1552.

The next rubric directs the OFFERING OF ALMS, which "so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor men's box"; such a box having been ordered by the royal injunctions of 1547 to be fixed near the high altar.[9] In 1552 the rubric was altered

[8] Simmons, *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 228, 318.

[9] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. lxix.

thus: "Then shall the churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box"; while the further clause, relating to "the offering days appointed," remained unaltered. The revisers of 1661 amended this, prefixing the words, "whilst these sentences are in reading," and specifying "the Deacons" as well as "Church-wardens or other fit person appointed for that purpose," who "shall receive the Alms for the Poor and other devotions of the people"; thus having in view offerings for objects other than the relief of the poor; and they are to receive these "in a decent bason to be provided by the Parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the Priest who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table."

The clause relating to the "offering days" is explained by an order issued in 1536 by Henry VIII., appointing that these shall be the Feasts of Christmas, Easter, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and St. Michael (the last two superseding Whitsuntide and the feast of the dedication of the Parish Church, which had been specified in previous times).[10] The Latin Prayer-book of 1560 renders "the due and accustomed offerings" as "customary offerings and tithes" (*consuetas oblationes et decimas*).[11] The clause was omitted by the revisers of 1661; but they retained among the rubrics at the end of the service a clause relating to the Easter Dues which had been added there in 1552.

Before proceeding to the OFFERING OF BREAD AND WINE, the rubric of 1549 requires those who would communicate to tarry in or near the choir, men on one side and women on the other side, and all others to depart out of the choir except the ministers and clerks. This was omitted in 1552, and later revisions gave no directions on these points until in 1661 a clause was prefixed to the third exhortation: "At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the Communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament."

In the last of the rubrics at the Offertory in 1549, directing "the Minister" to take sufficient bread and wine, to add water, and to set them upon the altar, the minister is presumably to be the deacon, if one is present, as the rubric concludes, "Then the Priest shall say." The whole of this rubric was omitted in 1552, no order being given as to when or how the oblation

[10] Clay, *Liturgies, etc., in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), 185.

[11] *Ibid.* 388.

of the elements was to be made; and the rubric relating to the alms, etc., concluded immediately: "After which done, the Priest shall say, Let us pray," etc. The revisers of 1661, having in view the fact that the service was not to proceed beyond this point if there were no communicants, restored the directions for the oblation of the elements in a briefer form, ordering that "When there is a Communion the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient," and concluding as before, "After which done," etc.

The lack of any Offertory Prayer was an unfortunate deficiency in the book of 1549. Though there were precise directions for offering the elements, this was done in silence, with no verbal formulary; and though sentences of Scripture accompanied the collection of alms there was no prayer relating to it. The latter omission was made good in 1552, and must be regarded as one of the principal improvements effected at that date.

The Intercessory Prayer, which in 1549 occupied a later position, was transferred to this position in 1552; and in its opening clauses, praying God to receive our prayers, were inserted the words "to accept our alms." The revisers of 1661 added "and oblations," restoring at the same time the direction that the priest shall then place the bread and wine upon the Table. Hence it appears that while the word "oblations" was frequently applied at this period to offerings for the poor it was intended here to include the eucharistic elements; as also in the traditional service of the royal coronation the sovereign first "offers bread and wine" and then "makes his second oblation" of gold.[12]

To the introductory formula, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church," the revisers of 1552 added the words "militant here in earth." They also prefixed additional words to the clause for the King: "We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and specially," etc. In the clause for the clergy the word "Pastors" remained until 1661, when it was omitted. In the clause, "And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace," the revisers of 1552 added, "and especially to this congregation here present," removing the later clause which commended to God "this congregation which is here assembled in thy name

[12] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.* 409 *sq.*

to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son." The intercession in 1552 ended with the clause for those "in trouble . . . or any other adversity," all the remainder being omitted until the concluding words, "Grant this, O Father," etc. Thus the clauses commemorating the departed were omitted entirely. In 1661 the commemoration of the departed was restored in a modified and briefer form, taken with slightly altered expressions from the Elizabethan *Injunctions* of 1559;[13] but in this the distinction between the "saints" and "all other" departed was not revived, and the direct prayer of 1549 on their behalf was changed to a prayer "that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly Kingdom."

It may reasonably be urged that if it is desirable to remove the Intercessory prayer from what we shall find to be its original position, as appended to the act of consecration, the next best place that can be found for it is that to which the revisers of 1552 transferred it, as appended to the Oblation of the elements; for which, as will appear, there is much ancient precedent. It stands very suitably in this position, making no dislocation of the service; whereas in 1549 it made a most unfortunate severance between the Preface and the eucharistic Thanksgiving which it introduces.

The EXHORTATION, which was placed to be read after the Intercession in 1552, has been examined already in the position which it occupied in 1549, following the Sermon; and it was noted that it had formed part of "The Order of the Communion" issued in the previous year. There it had been followed by the Invitation, the Confession, the Absolution and the Comfortable Words, which had been deferred until after the Consecration in 1549 but were now again placed after the Exhortation in this place in 1552. Some minor alterations in these passages were made at the same time.

The INVITATION had been slightly abbreviated from that of 1548; and at the call to make "humble confession to Almighty God," the revisers of 1552 removed the words "And to his holy church here gathered together in his name," and they substituted "Before this congregation here gathered together in his holy name"; the clause being eventually dropped in 1661, in which year also the words "with faith" were inserted after "draw near."

[13] Brightman, *English Rite*, 664.

The rubric before the CONFESSION is that of 1548, and remained until 1661, when the direction to say it was limited to "one of the ministers; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees, and saying." The Confession itself has undergone no change since 1548, except that in 1661 archaic forms were modernised, as "we acknowledge."

In the rubric before the ABSOLUTION the revisers of 1552 inserted "Or the Bishop, being present," and in 1661 the words "say thus" were altered to "pronounce this Absolution." In 1548 the Absolution had begun: "Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his church, to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy," etc.; and it had ended with the words "everlasting life." It is worthy of note that this form of 1548 was followed in the Latin Prayer-book of 1560, but the English book at each revision has retained the form of 1549, except that minor verbal changes were made in 1661.

It will appear that the action of the revisers of 1552, in removing the penitential passages from their position before the reception of Communion and placing them before the eucharistic Preface, brought the service into much closer conformity to the ancient order; for the lack of any passage of that character in this position was a distinct blemish in the rite of 1549; and further, the intrusion of these passages after the consecration in that rite had been a serious disfigurement, originating, as will appear, in a corrupt usage of no great antiquity.

The COMFORTABLE WORDS, which followed the Absolution in 1549 as now, will be more conveniently considered at the beginning of the next section of the service.

Section III.

THE CONSECRATION.

1549	1661.
	Comfortable Words.
Salutation.	
Sursum Corda, etc.	*Sursum Corda*, etc.
Preface, with Proper Prefaces.	Preface, with Proper Prefaces.
Sanctus and *Benedictus* Hymns.	*Sanctus* Hymn.
Intercession.	
Consecration Prayer.	Consecration Prayer.
Memorial Oblation.	
The Lord's Prayer.	
The Peace, etc.	
"Christ our Paschal Lamb," etc.	

1661.

The one greatest and most conspicuous difference which distinguishes the service of 1661 from that of 1549 is to be seen in this section in connection with the Consecration, where the revisers of 1552 excised everything that intervened between the recital of the Institution and the administration of Communion, placing some passages in earlier and some in later positions.

It may be observed here that in the Order of "The Communion of the Sick" in 1549 this section of the service retains the ancient title of "The Canon," the priest being directed to say, "Lift up your hearts, etc., *Unto the end of the Canon:*" but the revisers of 1552 omitted this.

The Salutation, with response, which had followed next after the direction to place the elements upon the altar and had immediately preceded the *Sursum Corda*, was omitted in 1552. At the same time its place was occupied by the Comfortable Words, which thus followed the Absolution still, as they had followed it in the position which it occupied in 1549

between Consecration and Communion. The Comfortable Words were always printed as a threefold formula, the first two passages being placed as one, until 1661, when these were divided; and the sequel will show that the older arrangement is a point of some interest.

In the SURSUM CORDA and the passages which follow it nothing has been altered until after the opening passage of the PREFACE. But the revisers of 1552 made some changes in connection with the Proper Prefaces. For Christmas, Easter, and Ascension they added the direction, "And seven days after"; for Whitsunday, "And six days after"; and for Trinity Sunday, "only." The change of "this day" to "at this time," in the Christmas and Whitsunday Prefaces, was not made until 1661. No change has been made in the final clause, "Therefore with angels, *etc.*," at the close of the first four Proper Prefaces; but the ending on Trinity Sunday, "Whom the angels, *etc.*," indicates that the translators intended to retain the ancient ending, "Whom the angels and archangels praise, and the Cherubin and Seraphin, who cease not to cry aloud with one voice, saying:" and this is borne out by the fact that the authorised Latin version of 1560 restores the whole passage: but in 1552 this Preface was assimilated to the others, the normal ending being substituted for that of 1549.

In the SANCTUS hymn the revisers of 1552 omitted the clauses "Osannah in the highest: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord"; and they altered the last clause to "Glory be to thee, O Lord most high."

The appended rubric, "This the Clerks shall also sing," was omitted in the same revision. It related obviously to the *Sanctus* only, and the hymn was printed as a separate paragraph after the Preface until 1559 when it was appended to it without a break. The direction that the closing passage, "Therefore with angels," etc., shall "be sung or said" was added in 1661; but by tradition from the older books it has been commonly understood that the choir are to sing only the *Sanctus*. There was no *Amen* until 1661, when it was added in italic type, indicating that it is the people's response and implying that if the hymn is not sung it is to be said by the priest only, the people adding the *Amen*. But the recent alteration of the type in 1894 assumed unwarrantably that the people are to say the hymn with the priest.

When the Intercession, following the Preface and *Sanctus*, was removed to its present earlier position by the revisers of 1552, they inserted in this place the prayer "We do not presume," removing it from its former position immediately before the reception of Communion. The one prayer in 1549 and the other in our present service makes an unfortunate dislocation of the Preface from the Consecration-prayer, or Thanksgiving proper, to which the Preface originally forms the introduction. In comparing the two services it may be urged on the one hand that in 1549 the Intercession kept its close connection with the Consecration; but on the other hand it must be recognised that in 1552 the break is greatly lessened by the insertion of a much shorter prayer and one which is more in harmony with the opening portion of the Consecration-prayer.

This prayer for a worthy reception of Communion, standing immediately before the actual administration in 1549 but placed before the Consecration-prayer in 1552, is traditionally called, as in the Scottish book of 1637, the COLLECT OF HUMBLE ACCESS, though the title does not appear in the English books. The prayer, with the rubric preceding it, is from the Order of Communion of 1548. In the rubric the words "turning him to God's board" were inserted in 1549 but omitted in 1552. In the prayer the words "in these holy mysteries" were omitted in 1552; the order of the two remaining clauses was reversed; and the word "continually" was altered to "evermore." In 1661 "God's board" was altered to "the Lord's Table."

At the close of this prayer a rubric was inserted in 1552, "Then the Priest standing up shall say as followeth." The revisers of 1661 amplified this with the direction, "When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people and take the Cup into his hands"; and they also added the distinctive title of "THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION."

The opening clauses of the Prayer of Consecration, which are in fact though not in form a Thanksgiving for (1) the Death of Christ, (2) His perfect Sacrifice, and (3) His Institution of a perpetual memory of it, remain unaltered, except in some slight verbal changes, from 1549. But the next clause, "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee," underwent a very

considerable change in 1552. The revisers altered the petition, "And with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ: " for which they substituted the present form, "And grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood"; and they also inserted in the middle of the clause two phrases which will presently demand particular notice, "According to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion."

It should be noted that Archbishop Laud in his Scottish Prayer-book of 1637, retaining this clause as altered in 1552, prefixed to it the clause of 1549 in a slightly varied form: "Hear us, *etc.*, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, so that we receiving them according, *etc.*, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood." The present Scottish liturgy as revised in 1764 places this clause after the recital of the Institution and the eucharistic Oblation, omitting the phrases inserted in 1552; and instead of the words "that they may *be unto us*," it reads "that they may *become* the body and blood," etc. The American Prayer-book places the passage in the same position but omits the clause last noticed, and concludes "that we receiving them according," *etc.*, as in 1552.

Both in 1549 and in 1661 this passage immediately precedes the recital of the Institution. In that recital the only change to be noted is in the words relating to the bread, "When He had blessed and given thanks"; where the mention of blessing was omitted in 1552. Probably it was felt that the combination of the two phrases was superfluous, since they do not occur together in either of the four scriptural accounts but stand there as alternatives.

The book of 1549 directs the sign of the cross to be used at this place, as it does also at confirmation and in each of the blessings at a marriage. The revisers of 1552 removed the direction in all these places but ordered it to be used at baptism. The inference is that they wished to safeguard the principle of its use by requiring it in one place while they left it optional elsewhere.

At the same time the rubric forbidding the elevation of the Sacrament after the recital of the Institution was removed by the revisers of 1552; but the probable reason for their action will be more conveniently considered in connection with the ancient precedents for the elevation.

In 1549 one of the rubrics at the conclusion of the service had directed the breaking of the bread: "Every one shall be divided in two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed": implying that it was to be done in the usual place after the consecration and before the communion of the people. This direction was removed in 1552. In 1661 the Fraction was restored, but it was ordered to be made at the words "He brake it" in reciting the Institution.

The service as altered in 1552 makes the recital of the Institution to be the completion of the Consecration-prayer and passes on immediately to the reception. Thus the formal memorial of the sacrifice, commonly known as the Oblation, disappears; or, more exactly, its phrases are broken up and placed elsewhere. The words had been: "According to the Institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesu Christ we . . . do celebrate and make . . . the memorial . . . having in remembrance of his blessed passion," etc. The revisers removed the substance of these words to the earlier part of the Consecration-prayer: "According to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution," and "In remembrance of his death and passion," connecting them with a petition relating to the reception. They also took the words "Having in remembrance his blessed passion" and "Rendering unto thee most hearty thanks," and from these they constructed a novel formula of administration. The significance of the change is remarkable. In the older service the connection was: "Do this in remembrance of me. Wherefore we do celebrate and make the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed passion, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks." In 1552 it proceeded immediately from "Do this in remembrance of me," "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." The further history of this formula of administration will have to be considered in its proper place. Meanwhile we have to notice that here is the turning-point upon which the leading difference between the

two services depends; namely, when our Saviour said "Do this in remembrance of me," what did he mean by "Do this"? In 1549 it was, "We do celebrate and make the memorial"; taking "Do this" to mean, "Perform this eucharistic service." The altered formula countenances the view of the ultra-reformers, that "Do this" means only, "Take and eat this: Drink this." But the former is the Scriptural view; for we read that Christ told us to "Do this" as something over and above the "Take, eat," and "Drink ye all." There is certainly no doctrinal difference involved in the change. The reception of Communion is an essential part of doing "this" which our Saviour enjoined, and a worshipper who is not communicating is not in the fullest sense celebrating the Lord's memorial. The later Prayer-book has preserved all the essential parts of the ancient service, thus interpreting the "Do this" correctly, though at this point it has adopted a form of expression which Scripture does not warrant.

The revisers of 1552 deferred the clauses immediately following upon the Oblation, including (1) the petition for the acceptance of "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," (2) the offering of "ourself, our souls and bodies" as a sacrifice to God, and (3) the petition for the acceptance of "this our bounden duty and service"; all of which they adapted to form a post-communion prayer. In this the opening phrases were from the prayer of Oblation: "O Lord and heavenly Father, . . . we thy humble servants . . . entirely desire thy fatherly goodness." In the central clause the revisers altered the words: "That whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion may . . . be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction"; substituting, "That all we who are partakers," etc.; while they omitted the petitions that they "may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be . . . made one body with thy Son Jesus Christ, that he may dwell in them and they in him." In the third clause, praying for the acceptance of "our bounden duty and service," the revisers excised the next words: "And command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy divine Majesty"; after which the final passage is retained.

The Lord's Prayer, standing at the conclusion of the series of prayers which made up the complete Consecration-prayer,

was removed in 1552 and placed after the reception; at the same time the revisers omitted the introductory formula, "Let us pray: As our Saviour Christ hath commanded," etc.; and they incorporated into the prayer the final petition which had formed a response, and added a direction that the people repeat every petition after the priest. The doxology was added to the Prayer in 1661.

The passages which follow, namely *The Peace*, etc., and CHRIST OUR PASCHAL LAMB, etc., disappeared entirely in the revision of 1552.

SECTION IV.

THE COMMUNION.

1549.	1661.
Invitation.	
Confession.	
Absolution.	
Comfortable Words.	
Prayer of Humble Access.	
Administration.	Administration.
Communion Hymn.	
Post-communion Sentences.	
Salutation.	
	The Lord's Prayer.
Post-communion Prayer.	Post-communion Prayers (alternative).
	Gloria in Excelsis.
Blessing.	Blessing.
Additional Collects.	Additional Collects.

1661.

The principal change that has taken place in this portion of the service is the removal in 1552 of the Invitation, the Confession, the Absolution, and the Comfortable Words, which are now to be said after the Offertory and before the *Sursum Corda*, and the removal of the Prayer of Humble Access which

is to be said before the Consecration Prayer. All these passages had been included in "The Order of the Communion" which was authorised in 1548 to be used at the close of the Latin mass "immediately after that the Priest himself hath received the Sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass (until other order shall be provided)." This formulary must now be more fully noticed. It included (1) the Exhortation, "Dearly beloved in the Lord," etc., (2) the Warning, "If any man here be an open blasphemer," etc., (3) the Invitation, "You that do truly and earnestly repent, etc., (4) the General Confession, (5) the Absolution, (6) the Comfortable Words, (7) the prayer, "We do not presume," etc., (8) the Formulas of Administration, and (9) "The Peace of God," etc. These passages were the same that were afterwards embodied with little variation in the book of 1549. The first seven have been examined at the places to which they are transferred, and the others will be examined in due course.

The rubric of 1549 relating to the ADMINISTRATION was adapted from that of the Order of 1548, in which the priest had communicated previously at the usual place in the Mass; but in 1549 it includes the priest's Communion together with that of the people. It has since undergone further changes. Instead of the words, "To other ministers if any be there present," the revisers of 1661 substituted, "to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner (if any be present)"; and the words, "that they may help the chief minister" (abbreviated thus in 1552), were omitted in 1661; also the words, "in their hands, kneeling," were added in 1552 and were amplified in 1661, "into their hands, all meekly kneeling"; this last clause superseding the final rubric at the end of the service in 1549 which sanctions the reception by the people "in their mouths, at the Priest's hand."

The rubrics of 1549 introducing the formulas of administration are those of 1548, except that in the second of them the word "Minister" was substituted in 1549 for "Priest." Changes were made in 1552, when instead of "the Sacrament of the body of Christ" the revisers wrote "the bread," and they omitted the ending, "to every one these words." The second rubric was similarly altered and abbreviated in 1552: "And the Minister that delivereth the cup shall say." In each place the words "to any one" were inserted in 1661. The further rubric, "If there be a Deacon," etc., is that of 1548, except

that originally it spoke of "the bread" and "the wine," for which in 1549 the phrases of the preceding rubrics were substituted, "the Sacrament of the body" and "the Sacrament of the blood." This rubric disappeared in 1552; and with it the term "chalice," for which the revisers wrote "cup."

The two FORMULAS OF ADMINISTRATION in 1548 had made a distinction which was afterwards dropped; in the one case, "preserve thy body unto everlasting life," and in the other case, "preserve thy soul." In 1549 we have the words, "preserve thy body and soul," in each case. Both of these disappeared in 1552 and the revisers framed two entirely new formulas, in which they adapted, as we have already seen, the phrases of the Oblation removed from the Consecration-prayer: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving": "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." At this point we have the one most important change which the Elizabethan revisers of 1559 effected. They combined the formulas of 1549 and 1552 into the present lengthened form, joining them together very awkwardly with the conjunction "and" in each case; and they also wrote "into" for "unto" in each case: "preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: and take and eat this," etc.; ". . . and drink this," etc. The word "unto" was restored and the "and" omitted in 1661.

The revisers of 1661 added a direction for an ADDITIONAL CONSECRATION of bread and wine when more was required. A similar direction regarding the wine had been given in a final rubric in the Order of Communion in 1548: "Note, that if it do so chance, that the wine hallowed and consecrated doth not suffice or be enough for them that do take the Communion, the Priest, after the first cup or chalice be emptied, may go again to the altar and reverently and devoutly prepare and consecrate another, and so the third or more likewise, beginning at these words, *Simili modo postquam coenatum est*, and ending at these words, *qui pro nobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*, and without any levation or lifting up." The Latin mass being then in use, the number of intending communicants would be known and therefore the quantity of bread could be regulated; but the administration of the cup was practically a novelty, and mistakes as to the quantity of wine might easily occur.

The compilers of the book of 1549 set in the forefront of the service a direction that all intending partakers must signify their names beforehand; and they appear to have thought that the rubric of the previous year would no longer be necessary. Probably before 1661 the rule of giving previous notice had fallen into desuetude, resulting in difficulties which made it requisite to provide for the occasional necessity of consecrating again.

Both the COMMUNION HYMN and the POST-COMMUNION SENTENCES disappeared from this place in 1552. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, removed from the early part of the service, was now to serve for a Post-Communion hymn, but was to be said after the final prayer; and at the same time the hymn "O Lamb of God," etc., was incorporated into it by the duplication of the words, "Have mercy upon us, thou that takest away the sins of the world." This combination of the *Agnus* with the *Gloria* involved the loss of its threefold invocation of the "Lamb of God," and of its final petition, "Grant us thy peace."

The revisers of 1552, inserting the LORD'S PRAYER before the Post-Communion prayer, omitted at this point the introductory rubric, the Salutation and response, and the "Let us pray." At the same time they inserted the rubrics which still remain: "Then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating after him every petition. After shall be said as followeth." The text of the Lord's Prayer was not printed here until 1661, when the doxology, which had not previously appeared in the Prayer-book, was added to it.

The alternative POST-COMMUNION PRAYER was introduced here in 1552, being placed before that of 1549. It has been noted above that this prayer was compiled from the prayer of the Oblation which followed the recital of the Institution in the Consecration-prayer of 1549, but the actual Oblation was omitted entirely. The details of its adaptation have already been indicated at the place where it originally stood.

In the Post-Communion prayer of 1549, which remained as the second alternative in 1552, some minor changes were then made. The words, "duly receiving the same," were transposed, and the clause was recast: "That thou hast vouchsafed to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and dost assure us thereby of

thy favour and gracious goodness toward us." Also the latter part of the prayer, "We therefore most humbly beseech thee," etc., became "We now most humbly," etc.; for which we have in 1661, "And we most humbly," etc. The words, "in thy mystical body," remained until 1661, when the revisers substituted, "in the mystical body of thy Son."

The BLESSING, with the final passage of the service which includes it, was derived in 1549 from the "Order of the Communion" of 1548, which ended in the following form: "Then shall the Priest, turning him to the people, let the people depart with this blessing. The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds, in the knowledge and love of God, and in his son Jesus Christ our Lord. To which the people shall answer, Amen." The compilers of the book of 1549 simplified the rubrics, and they altered the connection of the phrases in the Peace, substituting the "love of God and of his Son," instead of "in his Son." Finally they appended to the Peace the Blessing in the name of the Holy Trinity.

No alteration has been made here, except that in 1552 the words "turning him to the people" were omitted from the rubric, doubtless in view of the changed position of the altar; and the words, "or the Bishop, if he be present," were inserted, as they still remain. At the same time the two rubrics that followed the Blessing were expunged.

In the rubric introducing the ADDITIONAL COLLECTS which are "to be said after the Offertory when there is no Communion," after the words "every such day one" the revisers added "or more." The further clause was added in 1552: "And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning and Evening prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the discretion of the minister." In the six Collects themselves no changes have been made, except that the revisers of 1661 inserted the name "Jesus" in the closing words of the first and altered "everliving" to "everlasting" in the opening words of the second. The Collects "For Rain" and "For fair Weather" were removed from this position to their present position after the Litany in 1552. In the latter of these the revisers of 1661 inserted "Almighty" in the opening address and altered "whereby we may receive" to "as that we may receive"; the words "by the granting of our petition" having been altered to "for thy clemency" in 1552.

The Concluding Rubrics were much abbreviated in 1552. Instead of "Upon Wednesdays and Fridays" the revisers of that year substituted "Upon the holy days," omitting the later paragraph as to "other days whensoever the people be customably assembled," etc. In 1661 the opening paragraph was extended to "the Sundays and other holy days." Also in 1552 the mention of the Litany was omitted here, and instead of it a direction was prefixed to the Litany itself "to be used upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary." At the same time in 1552 the revisers omitted the mention of the King's injunctions, the direction as to vesture, and the allusions to "the Offertory" and to "the accustomed blessing"; their rubric being: "Upon the holy days, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion until the end of the Homily, concluding with the general prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth, and one or more of these Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve." From this the revisers of 1661 omitted the mention of the Homily and the words "as occasion shall serve," but added the words "concluding with the blessing."

In the next passage the revisers of 1552 omitted the mention of "Chapels annexed and all other places," and also the allusions to "holy bread" and "the charges of the Communion"; these last being dealt with afterwards: and in regard to the number "to communicate with the priest," instead of the word "some" they substituted "a good number . . . according to his discretion"; and they omitted the later passage beginning "Also that the receiving," etc., which requires that the priest shall always "have some that will communicate with him." Thus in 1552 it was directed: "And there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper except there be a good number to communicate with the priest according to his discretion. And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive the Communion, yet there shall be no Communion except four or three at the least communicate with the priest. And in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, where be many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the minister every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary." The revision of 1661 made two minor changes: for "a good number" it has "a convenient number"; and

after "Cathedral and Collegiate Churches" it adds "and Colleges."

The clause of 1549, "For avoiding of all matters and occasions of dissension," etc., directs the form of the bread and the manner of dividing it. This is based upon the passage which had been appended immediately after the blessing in the Order of Communion of 1548: "Note that the Bread that shall be consecrated shall be such as heretofore hath been accustomed. And every of the said consecrated Breads shall be broken in two pieces, at the least, or more by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part, than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ." In 1549 this is altered to the effect that the bread shall be "unleavened and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was." In 1552 the clause was abbreviated thus: "And to take away the superstition which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten." The revision of 1661 combined the opening words of 1549 and 1552: "And to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition . . . concerning the bread and wine"; while it left the rest as before except that after the words "usual to be eaten" it omitted "at the table with other meats."

A new clause was added here in 1552: "And if any of the bread or wine remain the Curate shall have it to his own use." The meaning of this was more clearly shown in 1661: "And if any . . . remain unconsecrated," etc.; and a further clause, which had appeared substantially in the Scottish rite of 1637, was added at the same time: "But if any remain of that which was consecrated it shall not be carried out of the church, but the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him shall, immediately after the blessing, reverently eat and drink the same."

The clause of 1549, "And forsomuch as," etc., directing the provision of "sufficient bread and wine for the Holy Communion," was abbreviated in 1552 and its allusions to the "holy loaf" were omitted. It ran: "The bread and wine for the Communion shall be provided by the curate and the churchwardens at the charges of the Parish; and the Parish

shall be discharged of such sums of money or other duties which hitherto they have paid for the same by order of their houses every Sunday." This was still further abbreviated in 1661 by the omission of the latter half. The next clause of 1549, "Also that the receiving," etc., being removed in 1552, has been noticed already.

The next passage, "Furthermore every man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the divine service," etc., has also been abbreviated, and the mention of excommunication is omitted. The passage as remodelled in 1552 may be conveniently divided into three clauses: (1) "And note, that every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one": (2) "and shall also receive the Sacraments and other rites according to the order in this book appointed": (3) "And yearly at Easter every parishioner shall reckon with his Parson, Vicar, or Curate, or his or their deputy or deputies, and pay to them or him all ecclesiastical duties accustomably due then and at that time to be paid." Of this the middle clause was omitted in 1661 and the first and last were left unaltered.

The passage of 1549, "and although it be read," etc., directing that the people shall "commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths at the priest's hand," was dropped in 1552, when the words "in their hands" were inserted in the rubric at the administration.

In 1661 a new passage was inserted here, directing how "After the Divine Service ended the money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of," etc.

Finally the revisers of 1552 added a lengthy passage, which again may be examined as three clauses. (1) "Although no order can be so perfectly devised but it may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part: and yet because brotherly charity willeth that so much as conveniently may be, offences should be taken away: therefore we willing to do the same." In 1661 this introductory clause was omitted, except that some of its expressions were inserted afterwards. (2) In 1552 it proceeded: "Whereas it is ordained in the book of common prayer, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the communicants kneeling should receive the holy communion: which thing being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the

benefits of Christ given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder which about the holy communion might else ensue." In 1661, in addition to some merely verbal changes, the words "the benefits of Christ given unto the worthy receiver" were amplified to "the benefits of Christ *therein* given to *all* worthy receivers." (3) In 1552 it concluded: "Lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here: for it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body to be in more places than in one at one time." In 1661 the opening part of this clause was amplified with words from the first clause:' "Yet lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved": next, after some minor verbal changes, "any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood" is altered to "any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood"; and at the close the only change that is more than verbal is in the words "the truth of Christ's true natural body," where the superfluous "true" is omitted.

PART IV

COMPARISON OF THE ENGLISH WITH THE ANCIENT LITURGIES

COMPARISON OF THE ENGLISH WITH THE ANCIENT LITURGIES

THE TITLE, ETC.

1549.	1661.
The Supper of the Lord and Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.	The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.

THE USE OF SARUM.

The Missal according to the use of the illustrious and celebrated Church of Sarum.

NOTES.

The Title.

Throughout the Latin Churches the *Missal*, or *Mass-book*, was the accepted designation of the book which contained the order for the celebration of the holy Eucharist. The term *Mass*, which the revisers of 1549 retained and of which the meaning has already been indicated,[1] was applied to this rite as early as the time of St. Ambrose, who in a letter written to his sister in the year 385 speaks of celebrating Mass; after which it comes into frequent use.[2] It begins to appear as a title of the

[1] P. 61.

[2] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.* 3.

service in the Gelasian *Sacramentarium*, or Sacrament-book, where we find first the series of variable passages in the liturgy designated "Collects and Prayers at Mass" (*ad missam*),[3] and then such a series of passages is called *Missa*, a Mass.[4] Eventually the two portions of the service came to be known as the "Ordinary of the Mass" and the "Canon of the Mass,"[5] which are the usual titles in the medieval missals.

In the Eastern Church the service is known as "the Liturgy," the term originally meaning a public service. It is used in classical Greek for a service done for the State; and in the New Testament it is applied to the ministrations of worship, whether Jewish or Christian,[6] while it is used also of the ministration of alms.[7] St. Clement of Rome writes that the Master "commanded the offerings and liturgies to be performed with care."[8] In course of time the word was applied definitely to the eucharistic rite; and thus the three forms of that rite which are used in the orthodox East are known as "The Divine Liturgy of Saint James the Apostle and Brother of the Lord," "The Liturgy of Saint Basil," and "The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom." Similarly the ancient Greek rite of the Egyptian Church is "The Divine Liturgy of the Apostle and Evangelist Saint Mark disciple of Saint Peter," which title is followed in the Coptic rite. In the Armenian the ancient title is "The Mystery-manual of the Sacred Oblation";[9] but in some editions it is entitled "The Liturgy," or in the Latin Uniat rite "The Order of the Divine Mass of the Armenians." In the Syrian Monophysite rite it is "The Offering" (*Kurbono*); while other rites call it "The Order of the Hallowing" (Ethiopic *Keddase*, Persian *Kuddasha*).[10]

The only term which can be regarded as in any way a title of the service in the New Testament is "The Eucharist," which appears to be used specially in this sense by St. Paul,[11] though it is often used in a more general sense also. We have seen that the Didache gives directions "concerning the Eucharist" and speaks of those who may not "eat or drink of your Eucharist."[12] But the word does not appear to have

[3] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* I. 517, 571, etc.
[4] *Ibid.* 589, etc.
[5] Above, p. 16.
[6] Luke i. 23; Phil. ii. 17.
[7] 2 Cor. ix. 12.
[8] 1 Clem. xl.
[9] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, xcvii.
[10] *Ibid.* 72, 194, 252.
[11] 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17; 1 Tim. ii. 1.
[12] Above, p. 16 *sq.*

been adopted anywhere as a title of the service equivalent to "The Liturgy."

"The breaking of the bread" seems clearly to imply the eucharistic rite, but not as distinct from the *Agapé* or Love-feast with which it was connected. St. Paul's phrase, "Supper of the Lord," certainly implies primarily the *Agapé*,[13] and was not used of the eucharistic rite in ancient times. The title of "The Communion," adopted by the compilers of the English Order of 1548, was probably suggested to them by St. Paul's words where he writes of the Communion of the blood and of the body of Christ.[14]

Rubrics.

Nothing corresponding with the introductory rubrics of the English rites appears in the ancient service-books. Some of the Latin missals, as the Roman, have "General Rubrics" prefixed to the service, giving directions in regard to the manner of celebrating it.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom as now used in the Eastern Church has a lengthy preparation of the ministers together with the "Office of the Prothesis," or vestry, in which the elements are prepared for the service.[15] The Monophysite liturgies, Syrian, Coptic and Abyssinian, and also the Nestorian rite in Persia, have a similar but briefer Office of the Prothesis;[16] as also has the Armenian, but this last is now commonly performed in the church itself.[17]

[13] Above, p. 14.

[14] 1 Cor. x. 16. See Warren, *Ante-Nicene Liturgy*, 26.

[15] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 53 *sqq.*

[16] *Ibid.* 69 *sqq.*, 144 *sqq.*, 194 *sqq.*, 247 *sqq.*

[17] *Ibid.* 412 *sqq.* *Cf.* Neale, *Eastern Church*, 355 *sq.*

Section I.—The Preparatory Portion.

i. Introductory Prayers, etc.

1549.	1661.
Introit.	
[The Lord's Prayer and Collect for Cleansing.]	The Lord's Prayer and Collect for Cleansing.
	The Ten Commandments, with
Ninefold *Kyrie*.	Tenfold *Kyrie*.

The Use of Sarum.

Priest's private Preparation (*Veni Creator*, Collect for Cleansing, Introit, Lord's Prayer, Confession and Absolution, Kiss of Peace to the Ministers, and Preparatory Prayer).

Censing.

Introit.

Ninefold *Kyrie*.

[Priest's private Preparation. 1. In the Sacristy.]

Let the priest while vesting say, Come Holy Ghost (*Veni Creator Spiritus*), etc. ℣. Send forth thy spirit and they shall be created. ℟. And thou shalt renew the face of the earth. *Prayer.* God unto whom every heart is open and every will speaketh, and from whom no secret is hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our heart by the infusion of thy Holy Spirit that we may be meet perfectly to love thee and worthily to praise thee, through Christ our Lord.

Then let there follow Psalm xliii, Give sentence with me, etc., *with the Antiphon*, I will go unto the altar of God, unto God who gladdeneth my youth. *Then* Lord have mercy, *etc.* Our Father, *etc.* Hail Mary, *etc.*

[2. At the Altar.]

Then the Officium [*or Introit*] *of the Mass having been begun, let the priest with his ministers approach to the step of the altar and say*, Confess unto the Lord for he is good, for eternal is his mercy; *and the Confession*, I confess to God, to blessed Mary, to All Saints and to you, that I have sinned much in thought, word, and deed, by my own fault;

I pray holy Mary, all God's Saints and you to pray for me. *Let the ministers respond:* May Almighty God have mercy on you and forgive you all your sins; deliver you from all evil, preserve and strengthen you in good, and bring you to eternal life. *Priest.* Amen. *Then let them say,* I confess, etc., *and let the priest say,* May Almighty God have mercy, etc.; *and let him add,* Absolution and remission of all your sins, space for true repentance, amendment of life, the grace and the comfort of his Holy Spirit, may the Almighty and merciful Lord bestow upon you. ℟. Amen.

Then let the priest say: Our help is in the name of the Lord. ℟. Who hath made heaven and earth. ℣. Blessed be the name of the Lord. ℟. Henceforth world without end. Let us pray. *And when the prayers are ended let the priest kiss the deacon and afterwards the subdeacon, saying,* Receive the Kiss of Peace and love that ye may be fitted for the performance of the divine offices. *Then let him say bending at the midst of the altar:* Take away from us, we beseech thee O Lord, all our iniquities, that we may be made meet to enter with pure minds into the holy of holies, through Christ our Lord. *Then let him rise and kiss the altar in the midst and sign himself on his face and say:* In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

[The Censing.]

Then let the deacon put incense in the censer, first saying to the priest, Give ye the blessing: *And let the priest say,* The Lord: by him be this incense blessed in whose honour it shall be burnt. *Then let the priest cense the altar and let him be censed by the deacon; and after this let him kiss the Textus* [i.e. *the book of the Gospels*] *brought to him by the subdeacon.*

[The Officium, or Introit.]

Meanwhile the choir sing the Officium, *the* Psalm, *the* Officium *again,* Gloria Patri, *and the* Officium *a third time:*

[*on the Feast of the Epiphany:* Behold the Lord the Ruler cometh, and kingdom in his hand, and power and dominion. *Psalm* (lxxii. 1). Give the King thy judgment, O God, and thy righteousness unto the King's son. Behold, *etc.* Gloria Patri, *etc.* Behold, *etc.*]

[Kyrie Eleison.]

After this shall be said Lord have mercy (*thrice*); Christ have mercy (*thrice*); Lord have mercy (*thrice*).

NOTES.

1. The Introit.
2. The Lord's Prayer.
3. The Prayer for Cleansing.
4. The Confession and Absolution.
5. The Censing.
6. The Ten Commandments.
7. The *Kyrie Eleison*.

1. The Introit.

The entrance of the choir into their place in the church was made with ceremonial solemnity,[17a] and thus would naturally be accompanied with psalmody, which was therefore known as the *Introitus*; but as this was merely introductory, rather than an actual part of the service, we find no mention of it in the earliest liturgies,[18] though it was probably the usual custom from the first.[19]

In the Gregorian rites, while Psalm xliii. (*Judica me*) is appointed to be said as an unvarying Introit among the private prayers of the priest, the *Officium Missae* or *Introitus* sung by the choir consists of one verse of a Psalm with *Gloria Patri* and a brief Antiphon. This last is for the most part in the words of Scripture, but often it is evidently a reminiscence of ancient extemporised forms, as that of the Epiphany cited above, which seems to be based on the phrases from Malachi iii. 1 and Daniel vii. 14. In early times it had been the custom to sing an entire Psalm or a large portion of one.[20] Pope Celestine (423–432) is said to have appointed that the whole of the Psalter should be said thus.[21] But in the Gallican rite of the sixth century as described by St. Germain it is called *Antiphona*;[22] and the *Officium* of the Mozarabic rite at Toledo and the *Ingressa* (as it is called) of the Ambrosian rite at Milan are of similar character to the *Officium* of the Gregorian rites; as are also the opening antiphons of the Byzantine liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.[23] An older form of the Byzantine rite appears in the Liturgy of the Presanctified, and there we

[17a] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 129, 154.
[18] Fortescue *The Mass*, 216 *sq.*
[19] See above, p. 9.
[20] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 163.
[21] *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne i. 230.
[22] S. Germanus, *Expos. Brevis*, Ep. i. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 89).
[23] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 310 *sq.*, 364–367.

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find the Psalm civ. followed by the fifteen Gradual Psalms.[24] The Armenian rite has Psalms c. and xliii.;[25] the Coptic and Ethiopic have Psalm cxvii.,[26] and the Persian has several Psalms.[27] When therefore the revisers of 1549 appointed an entire Psalm for the Introit they were reverting to the older usage of the Western Church which appears to have been the older usage of the East also.

2. The Lord's Prayer.

The English rite in directing the priest to say the Lord's Prayer follows the Sarum missal, where, as in those of York and Hereford and also in the Mozarabic, this was included among the prayers to be said privately by the priest on approaching the altar. It has already been noted[28] that the revisers of 1549 appointed it to be said in the same manner, and the custom of saying it aloud has not been formally authorised in any subsequent revision. The *Lay Folks' Mass Book*[29] of the twelfth century instructs the people to say it in English while the priest says it.

It is not included among the introductory prayers in the Roman rite, nor in that of Milan. The liturgy of St. Chrysostom, as now used in the Orthodox Eastern Church, has it among the preparatory prayers at the beginning of the service,[30] as also has the Persian liturgy.[31]

3. The Prayer for Cleansing.

In the Sarum use the Prayer for Cleansing (*Deus cui omne cor patet*, etc.), was appointed to be said by the priest while vesting. There is a similar prayer common to the York use and the Mozarabic, and there is another in the Roman rite and adopted into the Ambrosian; in all of which cases it is to be said when the priest washes his hands before the mass. This was no doubt the original intention of the Sarum prayer. The words, "Cleanse by the *inpouring* (*infusionem*) of the Holy Spirit," convey a meaning which disappears in the rendering "by the inspiration," since they recall the new birth

[24] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 345.
[25] *Ibid.* 416.
[26] *Ibid.* 146, 201.
[27] *Ibid.* 253.
[28] P. 64.
[29] Ed. T. F. Simmons (*E. E. Text Soc.*), p. 7.
[30] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 353.
[31] *Ibid.* 252.

"of water and of the Spirit"[32] and show the true significance of this ceremonial washing as a reminder of baptism.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions this washing as occurring at the beginning of the liturgy.[33] It is prescribed in the preparatory ritual of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom and of the Armenian, both of which attach to it the words of Psalm xxvi. 6, "I will wash my hands," etc.;[34] and the occurrence of this passage in the same position in the Coptic rite and in the Persian[35] shows that the washing was the custom in these, though no actual rubric prescribes it. Similarly the introductory prayer in the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark embodies a petition, "Cleanse our lips and heart from all defilement and all wickedness,"[36] which may be another reminiscence of the washing.

Thus it appears that the general liturgical usage carried on the preliminary washing as it occurred at our Lord's Institution of the Eucharist, which again carried on the usage of the Old Testament.[37] There it was distinctly symbolical, and St. Cyril emphatically interprets it in that sense in the liturgy.

But a subsequent washing at the Offertory, being done publicly before the people,[38] assumed a greater importance than the washing which was commonly done in the sacristy. Hence the more private ceremony seems to have been undervalued, and this may explain how it happens that several rites omit to mention it. In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom and others, where much of the ritual of the Offertory is transferred to the preparatory office, it is probable that this has been transferred with the rest,[39] so that in these cases the two washings may have coalesced.

4. The Confession, Absolution, etc.

After the introductory prayers already noticed the Gregorian rites agree in having a form of confession and absolution, and in the Sarum Use the Kiss of Peace is given between the priest and the assistant ministers before ascending to the altar. Then follows the first prayer said at the altar itself, "Take away from us" (*Aufer a nobis*), etc. But all this series of introductory prayers represents the private preparation said by the priest in whatever varied form he pleased, and it only assumed

[32] St. John iii. 5.
[33] *Cat. Mystag.* v. 2. See above, p. 23.
[34] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 356, 415.
[35] *Ibid.* 145, 254.
[36] *Ibid.* 116.
[37] Above, p. 9.
[38] See below, p. 140.
[39] Brightman, as above, 580.

its fixed forms gradually in the middle ages.[40] The Kiss of Peace here is merely part of this preparation, while the general kiss, representing primitive usage, follows at a later point.

The Eastern rites usually have some prayers of a penitential character at the beginning. Thus in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom there is a short prayer expanding the petition of Psalm lxxix. 9, "Lord be merciful to our sins for thy name's sake," followed by the threefold *Kyrie*, the Lord's Prayer, and the washing of the hands already mentioned.[41]

In the English book of 1549, which deferred the Confession and Absolution to a later part of the service and omitted the Kiss of Peace and the prayer *Aufer a nobis*, the ninefold *Kyrie Eleison* remained as the sole survival of the penitential element in the introduction to the service. The obvious purpose of the revisers of 1552 was to develop this element by the insertion of the Commandments and expansion of the Kyries, presently to be noticed.

5. The Censing.

Of the use of Incense, prescribed at this point in the Sarum rite as well as in those of York and Hereford, no mention is made in the book of 1549. In noticing it here it will be convenient at the same time to anticipate the other occasions at which it appears. It is ordered at the Gospel in the Missals of Sarum and Hereford; and this is implied in the York rubric: "While the Creed is being sung let the subdeacon with the Textus [the Gospel-book] and an acolyte with the thurible go around the choir."[42] In the Sarum rite it is ordered a third time at the Offertory. The Roman also has it in all the three places.

The use of incense at these points is explained by the fact that originally it was simply processional; that is, when the clergy and choir entered to the altar, and when the deacon with his attendants proceeded along the choir for the Gospel (known in the East as the Lesser entrance), and again when the elements for the Oblation were brought in from the sacristy (known as the Great Entrance), incense as well as psalmody was introduced to add dignity to the procession. The First

[40] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 225–228.
[41] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 353–356.
[42] *Miss. Ebor.*, ed. Henderson, i. 171.

Roman Order, of the seventh century, mentions it, the censer being carried by the subdeacon at the Introit and before the Gospel.[43] But the custom of censing persons or the altar or the elements was unknown in the Roman rite until some centuries later,[44] and the use of incense at the consecration was not introduced until the twelfth century;[45] nor does it appear in the rubrics of the liturgy, though it is prescribed in the introductory rubrics and may have been customary also in England. The present Ambrosian rite has also adopted the Roman usage.

St. Germain of Paris in the sixth century makes no allusion to incense; but the Leofric Missal, representing the Gallican usage of the tenth century, mentions it in connection with the Gospel;[46] and the Stowe Missal, showing the Irish rite of the same period, has at the Offertory the words of Psalm cxli. 2, "Let my prayer be set forth as the incense," etc.,[47] which occur in connection with the censing in the Missals of Rome and Sarum and others, and therefore indicate that it was used. The Mozarabic rite also has it at the Offertory, but at the discretion of the priest.[48]

The formula of blessing the incense, which appears in the Sarum rite as in the Roman, is not found in those of York and Hereford. It has been introduced also into the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic rites. Its occurrence in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom[49] suggests that probably it had its origin from Constantinople and was adopted at Rome and hence became very general in the West.

Looking back to early times, we find mention of the use of incense "at the time of the holy oblation" in the Apostolic Canons;[50] but there is a strong probability that the passage does not belong to the original collection of canons of the third century.[51] Of the early Church Orders the first that mentions incense is the *Arabic Didascalia* of the latter half of the fourth century.[52] The *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, of the same period, speaks of censers being taken into the cave of the Holy Sepulchre, called the Anastasis, at Jerusalem, "so that the

[43] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.* 126–129; 131 *sq.*
[44] Edm. Bishop, *Genius of the Roman Rite* (1902), 17.
[45] *Ibid.* 16.
[46] *Leofric Missal*, ed. Warren, 255 *sq.* 258, 261.
[47] Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 230.
[48] *Miss. Mozar.*, ed. Leslie, p. 3 (*si placuerit*).
[49] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 359.
[50] Bruns, *Canones*, 1. i.
[51] Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* 147.
[52] Ch. 38, cited in Maclean, *Ancient Ch. Orders*, 168

whole basilica of the Anastasis may be filled with the odours." [53] But no mention of incense occurs in the Clementine liturgy nor in the description of the rite by St. Cyril of Jerusalem; though this is no proof that it was not used.

The present Liturgy of St. James, both Greek and Syriac, prescribes incense at the introit and again before the Gospel.[54] The custom of the Church in Egypt in the twelfth century is shown by the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark, where incense is used at the Lesser and the Greater Entrance; [55] but in the present Coptic and Ethiopic rites it is only mentioned before and between the lections.[56] In the Byzantine rite it appears in the ninth century at the introit and at the Lesser Entrance.[57] In the present Armenian rite at the introit the priest "censes the church and the people," and at the Great Entrance "they come burning incense." [58] In some of the Eastern liturgies the ceremonial of preparing the elements is transferred from the Offertory and performed beforehand in the Prothesis, or Sacristy;[59] and the Persian liturgy prescribes the use of incense in this preparatory rite, and again at the Offertory, where also the priest censes the paten.[60] The present Liturgy of St. Chrysostom also has it in the Office of the Prothesis and again at the Lesser and the Greater Entrance; and here the priest is to cense the holy table, the clergy, the people and the oblation; [61] besides which it is used after the Consecration and again after the Communion is administered,[62] but this is not directed in the rubrics. The inference from all the evidence is that the highly developed use of incense originated in the Church of Constantinople and spread in a greater or lesser degree among the neighbouring churches, the Church of Rome adopting it from the same source.

It must be remembered that for some centuries before the Reformation the Eucharist in England had commonly been celebrated in the manner known as Low Mass, without the prescribed ceremonial of music and incense, and with a lay server taking the place of the assistant ministers. There is a marked absence of any mention of censers in the ancient lists

[53] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 495.
[54] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 32, 36; 74–76, 81.
[55] *Ibid.* 115, 122.
[56] *Ibid.* 150, 152, 154; 209, 213, 216, 219.
[57] *Ibid.* 345 *sq.*
[58] *Ibid.* 420, 431.
[59] *Ibid.* 586 (Prothesis).
[60] *Ibid.* 249, 262.
[61] *Ibid.* 359–361, 371, 378.
[62] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 144.

of Church Ornaments, and it is probable that in the ordinary parish churches of the country incense was very rarely used.[63] This may well explain the fact that the compilers of the book of 1549 make no allusion to it either as approving it or disapproving.

6. The Commandments.

The rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, though never prescribed in the liturgy until 1552, was not entirely a novelty. The provincial synod held under Archbishop Peckham in 1281 had ordered that the Ten Commandments should be expounded in church at least four times a year; a constitution of the Archbishop of York, *c.* 1360, speaks of "God's law taught in the mother tongue" in connection with the divine service;[64] and in 1542 Bishop Bonner's Injunctions require the clergy to declare the Ten Commandments in the pulpit twice every quarter.[65] But they had never been made a permanent and unvarying feature of the service.

7. Kyrie Eleison.

The formula "Lord have mercy" was in use among the Greeks in pre-Christian times.[66] Of the antiquity of its use in the Christian liturgy we have evidence in the fact that in the Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic, as well as in the Latin rite, it is still said in Greek.[67] The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom opens with an intercessory litany, each clause having this response;[68] and a similar usage is found in the Eastern liturgies generally, as the Clementine,[69] the Armenian,[70] and the early Syrian[71] and Egyptian rites.[72] In the Ambrosian rite at Milan the Litany survives here on the five Sundays of Lent, having this refrain in Greek on two of the Sundays and in Latin on the third and fifth, but always ending with the repetition of it three times in Greek. Afterwards, before the lections, a threefold *Kyrie Eleison* is a constant feature of this rite, and St. Germain[73] mentions it in the Parisian rite of his time. In the

[63] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 142.
[64] Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. Introd. 116.
[65] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 315.
[66] Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, 67.
[67] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 74, 159–161, 223.
[68] *Ibid.* 362.
[69] *Ibid.* 4 *sq.*
[70] *Ibid.* 424 *sq.*
[71] *Ibid.* 36–38, 74.
[72] *Ibid.* 113–117, 202.
[73] *Expos. Brev.* Ep. 1 (*Patr. Lat.* xii. 90).

fact that the litany in the rite of St. Chrysostom has ten clauses, and thus the *Kyrie* is tenfold, we have an accidental coincidence with its tenfold repetition in the later Anglican rite.

The amplification of *Kyrie Eleison* with additional words had been customary in the Latin rite. One instance in the series appointed for double feasts in the Sarum Use expresses at least the spirit of the formula inserted by the revisers of 1552: "Lord, thou cleanser of iniquities and bestower of grace, have mercy upon us."[74]

This farsing (as it was called) of the *Kyrie* was no doubt a survival of the ancient litany.

The alteration of *Kyrie* to *Christe* in the central petition, or group of petitions, had taken place in the Latin rite before St. Gregory's time, as he mentions it in his correspondence with John bishop of Syracuse in 598;[75] but it is not found in the Eastern rites, nor in the Gallican as represented by the Ambrosian, nor in the Mozarabic except occasionally where its introduction is doubtless due to Roman influence.

It appears, therefore, that in both the changes which the revisers of 1552 introduced in the *Kyrie* of the Anglican service, namely the address of "Lord" in every case and the addition of some further words, they were returning to more ancient usage.

ii. Lessons of Scripture, etc.

1549.	1661.
Gloria in Excelsis.	
Salutation.	
Collects.	Collects.
Epistle.	Epistle.
Gospel.	Gospel.
Creed.	Creed.
Sermon or Homily.	Sermon or Homily.
Exhortation.	Warning of Communion.
[Occasional Exhortation.]	[Appeal to the negligent.]

[74] *The Sarum Missal in English* (1868), p. 280.

[75] S. Greg. *Epist.* ix. Indict. ii. *Ep.* 12 (*Patr. Lat.* III. 956).

THE USE OF SARUM.

Gloria in Excelsis.
Salutation.
Collects.
Epistle.
Gradual, etc.
Censing.
Gospel.
Creed.
[Sermon.]

[GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.]

When Gloria in Excelsis is said, *let it always be begun at the midst of the altar. It is not said during Advent nor from Septuagesima to Easter Eve.*

[SALUTATION.]

Then let the priest make the sign of the cross upon his face and turning to the people let him say, The Lord be with you. ℟. And with thy Spirit.

[THE COLLECTS.]

Then is said the prayer [Collect] *of the day:*

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* God who on this day by the leading of a star hast revealed the only-begotten to the Gentiles: Mercifully grant that we who know thee now by faith may be brought to behold the sight of thy Majesty: through the same, *etc.*]

and others if appointed; and before each let him say, Let us pray: *and at the last,* Through the Lord, *etc.*, world without end. *But the number may never exceed seven.*

[THE EPISTLE.]

Then let the deacon go through the middle of the choir to read the Epistle.

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come . . . the praises of the Lord (Is. lx. 1–6).]

[THE GRADUAL, ETC.]

Then are said the Gradual *and* Alleluya.

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* All they from Saba shall come, bringing gold and incense and showing forth the praise of the Lord. ℣. Arise and be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for the

glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. Alleluya. ℣. We have seen his star in the East and are come with gifts to worship the Lord.]

and the Sequence.

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* His glorious Epiphany let us sing to the Lord. *etc.*] [76]

Or the Tract.

[Censing.]

Let the deacon cense the middle of the altar; then let him take the Textus, namely the book of the Gospels, and bowing before the priest with his face to the north let him say: Bid, sir, the blessing. *Let the priest respond:* The Lord be in thy heart and in thy lips to proclaim the holy Gospel of God: in the name of the Father, etc. *And let the deacon proceed through the midst of the choir and carrying the Textus on his left hand let him come to the pulpit, a thurifer and a taper-bearer preceding him.*

[The Gospel.]

Then let the subdeacon take the Textus and on the left of the deacon let him hold it in front of him while the Gospel *is read, the taper-bearers standing beside the deacon; and let the Gospel always be read toward the north. And when he begins the Gospel, after* The Lord be with you, *let him with his thumb make the sign of the cross on the book and on his forehead and on his breast, saying,* The Gospel according to *N.*

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* When Jesus was born in Bethlehem . . . into their own country another way (St. Matt. ii. 1–12.)]

After the Introit of the Mass let one of the taper-bearers bring the bread, wine and water which are placed for the ministration of the Eucharist; and let the other carry the basin with water and towel. They are permitted to enter the choir until the completion of the first Collect.

[The Creed.]

The Gospel ended, let the priest begin at the midst of the altar, I believe in One God, *etc. Let the choir bow towards the altar at the words* And was incarnate, *etc.; secondly at* And was made man; *thirdly at* And was crucified, *etc.*

[76] For a metrical version of this hymn see *The Sarum Missal in English* (1868), p. 37.

NOTES.

1. *Gloria in Excelsis*—"Only-begotten Son"—*Trisagion*—*Benedictus* Canticle.
2. The Collects.
3. The Lections (Epistle, Gospel, etc.).
4. The Gradual, etc.
5. The Creed.
6. Sermon or Homily.
7. Exhortations.
8. Litany.
9. Dismissal of Catechumens.

1. Gloria in Excelsis.

The hymn "Glory be to God on high" was retained in 1549 in the same position that it had occupied in the Latin missal. It existed in somewhat varied forms in the fourth and fifth centuries.[77] Being originally a hymn of the morning office of the Greeks, it was introduced at Rome for use in the first mass of Christmas in the fifth century: shortly afterwards it was appointed to be used on all Sundays and feasts of martyrs when a bishop celebrated; and the limitations in its use were gradually relaxed,[78] until eventually it became a regular feature of the service except at the seasons noted in the rubric. In the Gallican churches also it occurred in the other offices at least as early as the seventh century and was introduced in later times into the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic missals.[79] The Irish Church used it also in the night-offices of the seventh century, and it appears in the Stowe missal of the ninth or tenth century.[80]

It should be noted that the hymn consists of four portions, namely: (1) the hymn of the angels in St. Luke ii. 15; (2) a passage addressed to "God the Father" and based upon the eucharistic preface; (3) a passage addressed to "the only-begotten Son"; and (4) the hymn "Only Holy," also addressed to Christ. The first of these portions occurs at the beginning of the liturgy in some versions of the Syriac rite[81] and in the

[77] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 240.
[78] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 166.
[79] *Ibid.* 192.
[80] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 197, 227.
[81] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, II. 5.

Persian,[82] and at the Offertory in the Greek St. James.[83] The opening clause of the second portion is a people's response just before the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Byzantine liturgy,[84] and this portion is expanded in the version of the hymn which appears in the Apostolic Constitutions.[85] In the third portion the version last named takes a different form and is addressed not to God the Son but to the Father: "O Lord God the Father of the Christ the unblemished Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, receive our prayer: thou who sittest upon the cherubim." In the very early version found in the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint,[86] and also in the ancient Irish version,[87] the Holy Spirit is addressed here after "Jesus Christ" and is not named at the end of the hymn. The fourth portion is a slightly expanded form of a primitive hymn which occurs in several early liturgies after the Consecration and will be noticed in that place.[88] It is a curious coincidence that in the Clementine liturgy that hymn has the angels' hymn of the nativity appended to it,[89] so that the last clause of our *Gloria in Excelsis* is there followed by its first clause.

The Sarum rite inserts some additional clauses in the hymn in commemorations of the Blessed Virgin Mary, thus: "O Lord the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ; *O Spirit and tender Comforter of orphans*; O Lord God, Lamb of God, son of the Father; *First-born of Mary the Virgin Mother*," etc.

The current version of the Latin missal was used by the translators, who rendered *in excelsis* as in the Great Bible of 1539, "on high," and perhaps by inadvertence inserted the word "God" in the phrase "*Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris*, and omitted the name "Jesu" in the final clause *In solus altissimus Jesu Christe*, etc.[90] The Latin Prayer Book of 1560 reverts to the ancient form in both cases.

In place of the Sarum rule directing that the hymn be omitted during Advent and from Septuagesima to Easter the revisers of 1549 substituted the direction at the close of the service permitting its omission "on the workday or in private houses."[91]

[82] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 252.
[83] *Ibid.* 45.
[84] *Ibid.* 329, 386.
[85] VII. 47.
[86] Blunt, *Annot. Pr. Book*, 194.
[87] Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 197, 227
[88] P. 213.
[89] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 24.
[90] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. civ.
[91] *Ibid.* p. cxii.

When we compare the liturgy of the Orthodox Eastern Church we have two important hymns occupying the position in which *Gloria in Excelsis* stands in the Latin rite. The one is the great hymn of the Incarnation: "O only-begotten Son and Word of God, who being immortal didst vouchsafe for our salvation to be incarnate of the holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, being without change made man and crucified, O Christ our God, overcoming death by death; who art One of the Holy Trinity, glorified together with the Father and the Holy Ghost: Save us."[92]

The expressions of this hymn of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom indicate that it was composed to set forth the doctrine of the Incarnation as defined by the third and fourth general councils in the fifth century; and the influence of the Byzantine Church introduced it into the Armenian and also into the Greek liturgies of St. James in Syria and St. Mark in Egypt;[93] but it is not found in the Coptic and Ethiopic rites, nor in the Persian. The Syriac rite has a slightly varied form of it, addressed to God the Father.[94]

In the Greek Liturgy of St. James this hymn is strictly the introit, being said while the ministers are entering and while the priest says a private prayer "from the gates to the altar;"[95] and its position in the liturgy of St. Mark is the same.[96] In the Syriac St. James and the Armenian other psalmody precedes it;[97] and in the present liturgy of St. Chrysostom it stands as the second of three antiphons sung at the beginning of the rite.[98] The facts therefore point to the conclusion that this hymn like the Western *Gloria in Excelsis* was originally sung at the entrance of the ministers to the altar and that in many rites other psalmody like the Western *Introitus* has been introduced before it.

The second hymn at this point in the Eastern rites is the *Trisagion*, "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us," which was sung just before the Lections. The general consent of the liturgies proves it to be a hymn of primitive antiquity. It has the appearance of pre-Christian origin, and it has been traced back to the expressions of prayers which were closely connected with the reading of the Scriptures

[92] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 33, 116, 365.
[93] *Ibid.* 33, 116, 421.
[94] *Ibid.* 77.
[95] *Ibid.* 33.
[96] *Ibid.* 116.
[97] *Ibid.* 77, 421.
[98] *Ibid.* 365.

in the Jewish ritual.[99] At the Council of Chalcedon in 451 the assembled fathers used it as an exclamation; hence it was evidently a well-known formulary.[1] It occurs not only in the liturgies of St. James (Greek and Syriac) and St. Mark, and in the Byzantine and the Armenian, like the preceding hymn, but also in those in which that hymn does not appear, namely in the Persian[2] and in the older form of the Byzantine rite,[3] and also in the Coptic and Ethiopic, though in these last it is deferred until just before the Gospel.[4] In the Coptic its words are stamped round the edge of the eucharistic bread.[5] In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom it is not said on certain festivals, but a proper antiphon takes its place.[6] The story is told that when St. Procelus was patriarch of Constantinople (434-446) the city was suffering from an earthquake and a young man caught up to heaven heard this hymn and called on the people to sing it, with the result that the calamity passed away;[7] whence it may be inferred that already it was sometimes omitted.

The hymn was naturally regarded as addressed to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, and it is so treated by St. John of Damascus in the eighth century.[8] Thus the Persian rite repeats it three times with the two clauses of *Gloria Patri* interpolated.[9] Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch, who died in 488, inserted the words "Who wast crucified for us" before the final petition of the hymn, which led to much controversy as seeming to imply that the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity suffered;[10] and this insertion appears in the Monophysite liturgies both in Syria and in Egypt, where each clause is regarded as addressed to the Second Person.[11] The Armenian also has a varying clause in the same sense, inserted on festivals, "Who didst rise from death."[12] And as in the East we have the *Trisagion* thus expanded with clauses relating to Christ similar to those of the Western *Gloria in Excelsis*, it is the more interesting to find a form of the Western hymn for use

[99] Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. ii. 8 (p. 337).
[1] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 367.
[2] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 255.
[3] *Ibid.* 313, 527.
[4] *Ibid.* 155, 218.
[5] *Ibid.* 572.
[6] *Ibid.* 590.
[7] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, I. 209; Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 531.
[8] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 484.
[9] *Ibid.* 255.
[10] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 367.
[11] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 77, 155, 218.
[12] *Ibid.* 423.

at Christmas in which the words of the Trisagion are incorporated: "Thou only [art] holy God mighty and immortal: thou only [art the] Lord," etc.[13]

There is little doubt that the Trisagion is primitive in the West as in the East. Here it is said first in Greek and then in Latin, this usage being described by St. Germain in the sixth century.[14] Early in that century it was in common use in Gaul;[15] and in 529 the second Council of Vaison ordered it to be said in all masses,[16] showing that already it had begun to be disused. In the Gregorian rite it survives only in the Good Friday ritual; and in the two existing Gallican rites, at Milan and Toledo, the *Gloria in Excelsis* takes the place of it in the liturgy. Thus the latter hymn, which had been the hymn of the *introitus* or entrance of the ministers, became eventually the hymn of the lesser entrance in connection with the lections, displacing the primitive Trisagion.

In the Gallican rite, after the threefold *Kyrie* already described,[17] there followed the *Benedictus* canticle (St. Luke i. 68–79) which was called the *Prophetia*, but is not to be confounded with the subsequent "Prophecy" or Old Testament lection. It is mentioned by St. Germain and by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century, and it survives once in the year in the Mozarabic rite.[18] Though it has disappeared elsewhere it is named in several Gallican missals, where the collect following it is called the "Prayer after the Prophecy" (*oratio post prophetiam*).[19] St. Germain speaks also of a Canticle "Holy God of the archangels," said in Lent in place of the Trisagion and Prophetia.[20]

It is evident that as psalmody accompanied the entrance of the ministers so it was further developed in connection with the ceremony of bringing in the book of the Gospels. This ceremony is described in the First Roman Order and in the Order of St. Amand,[21] and also by St. Germain, who calls it the "Procession of the Holy Gospel."[22] Much of its ritual

[13] Pamelius, *Liturgicon*, II. 611.

[14] *Expos. Brevis*, Ep. I. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 89). Here it is called the *Ajus, i.e.* Ἅγιος.

[15] Duchesne, *Christian Worship* 192.

[16] Bruns, *Canones*, II. 184.

[17] P. 103.

[18] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 193.

[19] Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*; Miss. Richenov., 8, 28; Miss. Goth., 34, 99; Miss. Vesont., 215, 217, 311, etc.

[20] *Expos. Brev.*, Ep. II. (P. L. lxxii. 95).

[21] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.* 131 *sq.*, 516.

[22] *Expos. Brev.*, Ep. I. (*P.* lxxii. 91).

continued in some churches of France in the eighteenth century,[23] and the rubrics of the Sarum rite cited above illustrate what remained of it in the medieval Church of England.

The absence of any hymn of praise in connection with the lections is the chief point in which this section of the modern English rite differs from ancient usage.

2. The Collects.

In the Sarum rite and in those of York and Hereford the prayer before the Epistle usually bears the general title of *Oratio*, but the rubrics occasionally give it the special title of *Collecta* which the English translators retained as *Collect*. This term was originally applied to the introductory prayer when the people were first "collected," the previous portion of the service being only preparatory.[24] Justin Martyr's description of the liturgy begins with the mention of such prayers.[25] St. Isidore of Seville describes the Mass of the Faithful as beginning with "a prayer of admonition toward the people that they may be stirred up to entreat God."[26] The English revisers of 1549 may have had the true meaning of the term "Collect" in view when they applied it to the opening prayer for cleansing which had previously been called *Oratio*. The proper *Collecta* is in the Gallican rites *Collectio*; but the same word is used also of other prayers in the service. In the Mozarabic rite, as in the Roman, it is simply called a prayer (*oratio*), and in the Ambrosian it is the "Prayer over the people" (*oratio super populum*).

The similarity of some of the *Collectae* to clauses in the Anaphora of Greek liturgies suggests the possibility that they are fragments of the original Petrine canon. To take two examples: the terms of the Gelasian Collect of the sixth Sunday after Trinity, "O God who hast prepared for them that love thee," etc., and of the Leonine Collect of the fifth Sunday, for the peaceable ordering of the world, have close parallels, the one in the Invocation and the other in the Intercession of the Greek Liturgy of St. James,[27] and are traceable in other rites.

In the Eastern liturgies generally the corresponding prayer

[23] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 365.
[24] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 167.
[25] Above, p. 19.
[26] *De Eccl. Off.*, 1. 15 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxiii. 752).
[27] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 53 (12), 55 (18).

is not variable like the Western Collect. The Byzantine rite as used in the ninth century and the liturgy of Constantinople and the Armenian at the present day have at this point a series of three prayers,[28] of which the third demands notice. It is the familiar "Prayer of St. Chrysostom," which our revisers in 1549 adapted to form the concluding prayer of the Litany and which was added also at Mattins and Evensong in 1661; but in its original position it related to the congregation having just gathered together for worship, and the clause "Granting us . . . knowledge of thy truth" evidently had in view the approaching lections.

The great majority of the Sunday Collects of 1549 are more or less free renderings of those in the Latin Missal; but of those for festivals of saints only five were retained, namely S. John the Evangelist, the Conversion of St. Paul, the Purification, St. Michael, and St. Andrew (the last-named being discarded in 1552). Those of St. Stephen and the Holy Innocents are based upon the ancient forms, as are also those of Good Friday. But seven Sunday Collects (1st and 2nd in Advent, Quinquagesima, 1st in Lent, 1st and 2nd after Easter and Sunday after Ascension) were newly composed in 1549; as were also those of Christmas Day and Ash Wednesday and the majority of those for festivals of Saints.

Besides those days for which provision was made in 1549, the Missal provided a proper Collect (with Epistle and Gospel) for every day in Lent, for each of the Ember days at other seasons, for each day in Christmas week, Easter week and Whitsun week, for each of the principal vigils, for a large number of commemorations of Saints, and for various special occasions.

The old English rites provided a Collect for the King, and that of Sarum had a second as an alternative,[29] to be used as supplementary Collects when occasion required. The revisers of 1549 compiled the present alternative Collects and provided that one or other should be used always.

The Missal had also supplementary masses for fair weather, for rain, for time of war, for a prisoner, for pestilence, for cattle-plague, and for any time of trouble. In 1549 new collects "for rain" and "for fair weather" were compiled

[28] *Ibid.* 311, 367, 422.

[29] Sarum Missal (ed. Burntisland), 785,* 828*; York (ed. Surtees Soc.), 174; Hereford (ed. Henderson), 415.

(the former of these being based on the ancient one), and they were placed at the close of the service.

It should be noted also that of the other six Collects placed there, "to be said after the Offertory when there is no Communion," the first is the Gelasian Collect of a mass for persons on a journey, the second is the Collect in the Office of Prime, and the fourth is from the mass of the Ember Saturday in Lent. The other three are compilations of 1549, except that the last incorporates a clause of the Gregorian Collect for the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity: "Grant that what we faithfully ask we may effectually obtain." [30]

3. The Lections (Epistle, Gospel, etc.)

The passages appointed to be read as Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and chief festivals in 1549 were for the most part retained from the Latin missal, but frequently with some slight increase in length. The series for the festivals of Saints was much enriched by the selection of a special passage in each case where previously there had been only a passage common to several festivals. On the other hand the revisers omitted the proper Epistles and Gospels which had been provided for the Wednesdays throughout the year and for the Fridays in Advent, as well as for all the occasions already mentioned on which proper Collects were used.

A passage of the Old Testament is read instead of an Epistle on seven occasions, and in 1549 on St. Mary Magdalene's day also. In the Latin rites it had occurred also on all the weekdays of Lent until Wednesday in Holy Week, on the Wednesdays and Fridays of Advent and of the September Ember-week, and on certain other days. On Christmas Eve and at each of the three masses of Christmas-day the Old English rites had three lections, a passage of the Old Testament preceding the Epistle and Gospel. The Roman rite also has frequently an Old Testament lection in place of the Epistle; and it has the three lections on the four Ember Saturdays and on the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, but not at Christmas. On certain days there are two or more lections from the Old Testament and no Epistle. At the beginning of the fifth century the lection of the Old Testament kept its place,[31] but two lections only became the usual custom from the close of that century.[32]

[30] Brightman, *The English Rite*, 710 *sqq.*

[31] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 181.

[32] *Ibid.* 73. *Cf.* 130–133; 155 *sq.*; 170 *sq.*

The Gallican rites retained the Old Testament lection, commonly known as the Prophecy, before the Epistle and Gospel on all occasions, and it is mentioned by St. Germain.[33] The Mozarabic rite preserves the series of three lections; and the Ambrosian has it on all Sundays and on many festivals but is like the Roman in having sometimes Prophecy and sometimes Epistle on the week-days in Lent and many other days both festival and ferial. The complete series was in use in the Church of Constantinople in the time of St. Chrysostom,[34] and is still continued in the Persian and the Armenian liturgies.[53]

The Anglican revisers of 1549 followed the Latin rite in using occasionally passages from the Acts of the Apostles and from the Revelation to serve for the Epistle. In the Eastern Church the Epistle, called the "Apostle," is taken from the Acts more frequently than in the West, but the Revelation is not so used. The Mozarabic is very remarkable in its use of the Revelation; for the Prophecy is always taken from that book from Easter-day to Pentecost, except on the Vigil of Pentecost, when it is from the Book of Numbers (xi. 16, 17, 24–29), while the Epistle throughout that period is always from the Acts; and the Prophecy is also from the Revelation on Michaelmas day and All Saints. The Ambrosian rite frequently has lections from the Acts, which take the place not of the Epistle but of the Prophecy, being followed in most cases by the Epistle. Here also the Prophecy is from the Revelation on Michaelmas Day and on the vigil of All Saints, though in the latter case no Epistle follows. The Missal of Bobbio (or Besançon) also has the three lections frequently,[36] and like the Mozarabic it takes its Prophecy from the Revelation and its Epistle from the Acts at Eastertide.[37] St. Germain alludes to this: "The Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse of John are read for the renewal of Paschal rejoicing, keeping the order of the seasons, as also the history of the Old Testament at Quinquagesima": and he adds, "and the Acts of saints, confessors and martyrs [are read] on their festivals."[38] We can well suppose that the contemporary letter of the Church of Smyrna on the

[33] *Expos. Brev.*, Ep. I. (*P. L.* lxxii. 91).
[34] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 195.
[35] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 256, 425.
[36] Neale and Forbes, *Gall. Lit.*, 211 *sq.*, 220 *sq.*, 252 *sq.*, etc.
[37] *Ibid.* 273 *sqq.*
[38] *Expos. Brev.* Ep. I. (*P. L.* lxxii. 90).

martyrdom of St. Polycarp (A.D. 167) would be read as an Epistle in the churches.

It can hardly be doubted that the custom of reading a passage of the Old Testament in the introductory part of the liturgy prevailed from the first;[39] and this would probably be followed, as a general rule, by an exposition of the passage in relation to Christ. In the second century we have the statement of Justin Martyr that "the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read."[40] In due course the insertion of a passage from the written Gospels was introduced universally. In the third century we find both Tertullian and St. Cyprian alluding to the reading of the pastoral letters of bishops with the lections;[41] and it would seem probable that this was the rule with the Epistles addressed to particular churches in the apostolic age; whence would naturally follow in due course the custom of reading a passage from the Epistles of the New Testament. The liturgical directions in Book ii. of the Apostolic Constitutions, and the liturgy in Book viii., showing the usage of the fourth century, agree in mentioning lections of the Old Testament, the Acts, the Epistles and the Gospels.[42] Rare instances are cited of the use of an unvarying Gospel. The passage of the Living Bread, in St. John vi. 51 and the following verses, in the Stowe Missal, seems to show that this was the custom of the Irish Church in the ninth century,[43] and there is some evidence that St. John v. 19–29, of resurrection and eternal life, was similarly used in the Nestorian Church of Malabar down to the sixteenth century.[44]

4. The Gradual, etc.

Psalmody intervenes between the Epistle and the Gospel in the Latin rites. It consists ordinarily of two portions. The first is a verse and response known as the *Gradual*, or Grail, from having been originally sung on the *gradus* or step of the ambo.[45] The second was a verse with *Alleluia* and the *Sequence*, for which the *Tract* (implying a lengthened chant) was substituted at penitental seasons; and occasionally a metrical hymn followed, of which the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater* are

[39] See above, p. 9.
[40] Above, p. 20.
[41] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 39, 42.
[42] *Const. Apost.* II. lvii. 5; VIII. v. 5.
[43] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 231.
[44] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 260.
[45] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 114.

familiar examples. But on some occasions, as Ember days and others, when there are three lections, the Grail usually stands after the Prophecy and the Tract after the Epistle; so that the two distinct chants, though joined together on ordinary occasions, bear witness to the fact that originally an intervening lection had been the rule.[46]

St. Germain's account of the Gallican rite mentions the Song of the Three Children sung after the lections.[47] It is known as the *Benedictus* from the introductory verses (29–34),[48] "Blessed art thou, O Lord, God of our Fathers," etc. The Mozarabic has it after the Prophecy, followed by a respond called *Psallendo*. In the Ambrosian rite this canticle is said on certain days only; when there are three lections the *Psalmellus* answering to the Grail is sung after the Prophecy but is omitted when there are only two lections; and after the Epistle the Hallelujah and verse are sung as in the Gregorian rites, and the *Cantus*, answering to the Tract, without Hallelujah, is said at penitential times. Corresponding with this, but deferred until after the Gospel, the Mozarabic rite has the *Lauda*, or *Antiphona post Evangelium*, usually in the words of Scripture but frequently a survival of early extemporised forms.

Both in the Mozarabic and the Ambrosian a salutation with response precedes the announcement of the Gospel, and then follows *Gloria tibi Domine* as in the Roman rite. This last is mentioned by St. Germain.[49] It is not found in the English missals, but its insertion in 1549 shows that it was usual in England. It has been introduced into the Armenian liturgy,[50] doubtless from Rome; but no similar brief ascription is found elsewhere in the Eastern rites.

The use of passages of the Psalms between the Epistle and Gospel appears at an early period. The Arabic *Didascalia* testifies to it in Egypt,[51] and mention of it in Asiatic churches occurs in the canons of Laodicea, *c.* 363, and in the writings of St. Basil.[52] The order of liturgy in Book II. of the Apostolic Constitutions describes the singing of the Psalms as antiphonal.[53] The Persian and Armenian rites are like those of the West in having verses of the Psalter after the Prophecy

[46] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 73 *sq.*
[47] *Expos. Brev.*, Ep. I. (*P. L.* lxxii. 91).
[48] Daniel iii. 52 *sqq.* (Vulg.).
[49] *Expos. Brev.*, as above.
[50] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 426.
[51] *Ibid.* 510.
[52] *Ibid.* 518–520; 523 *sq.*
[53] *Ibid.* 29; *cf.* 570.

and also the Alleluia and verse after the Epistle.[54] Of the rites in which the Prophecy is lacking, the Syrian both in its Greek and Syriac forms has the Alleluia together with some prayers between the Epistle and Gospel,[55] as have also the African rites[56] and the present liturgy of Constantinople.[57] The Byzantine liturgy of the ninth century prescribes here "the divine songs."[58] The psalmody at this point can therefore claim to be quite universal. The sole relic of it in the English service is the traditional ascription, "Glory be to thee O Lord," at the announcement of the Gospel.

The Roman rite has a response after the Gospel, *Laus tibi Christe*, and the Ambrosian follows it. This has never been prescribed in the English rites, but the Scottish service of 1637 has "Thanks be to thee O Lord," to which is now added "for this thy glorious Gospel." In the East similar ascriptions at this point are usual, as in the Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian, Persian and Armenian liturgies,[59] but not in the Byzantine. The York missal has here, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," and this is the ascription at the announcement of the Gospel in the Syro-Jacobite rite.[60] The Mozarabic has simply *Amen* after the Gospel, and this was very usual in the West in ancient times.[61]

5. The Creed.

The service of 1549 followed the Latin rites in placing the Creed after the Gospel and also in directing that "on the workday" it "may be omitted."[62] The uses of Sarum and Hereford require it to be said on Sundays at high mass only; but that of York, like the Roman, requires it always on Sundays. It was always to be said on the chief festivals, but the other occasions of saying it varied in the different uses.

In the English version some deviations from the Latin text are perhaps accidental. In the phrase "Begotten of the Father" we have "His Father." The clause "Whose Kingdom shall have no end" was omitted, but afterwards restored. The word "Holy" before "Catholic and Apostolic

[54] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 256 *sqq.*, 425 *sq.*
[55] *Ibid.* 36, 79.
[56] *Ibid.* 118, 156; Mercer, *Ethiop. Lit.*, 120.
[57] Brightman, 376.
[58] *Ibid.* 314.
[59] *Ibid.* 38, 80, 156, 222, 260, 426.
[60] *Ibid.* 79.
[61] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 264.
[62] Final Rubrics, p. 54.

Church" is omitted still; but this is lacking in some ancient texts.[63]

There are some points in which the English rendering fails to give the sense clearly. Thus the clause "By Whom all things were made" reads as relating to the Father; but "through whom" (for *per quem*) would have made the meaning plain: And the words "Whose Kingdom" (for *cujus regnum*) read naturally as meaning the kingdom of "the quick and the dead," and would have been better rendered "And his Kingdom": Also "The Lord and Giver of life" (for *Dominum et vivificantem*) is misleading, needing the second definite article as the Greek has it, and might well be read "The Lord and the life-giver." On the other hand the words "I believe," twice repeated in the last portion of the Creed, are not in the original Greek nor in the Latin, where the construction does not require them; nor are they in the Syriac and Persian versions;[64] but they appear in the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Armenian,[65] and are wisely inserted in the English.

There was no recitation of the Creed in the liturgy until after the period of the four General Councils, when it was thought advisable to introduce it as a safeguard against heresies. Hence it gradually became customary to recite the Creed commonly known as the Nicene; this being the form which was drawn up at the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325 as far as the words "I believe in the Holy Ghost," and to which the additional clauses were appended at Constantinople by the Council of 381, or at least were adopted there shortly after that date.[66]

The first appearance of the Creed in the liturgy was in the Church of Antioch, where it was introduced by Peter the Fuller, afterwards (476–488) the patriarch; and in 511 it was introduced at Constantinople by the patriarch Timotheus; both these prelates being supporters of the Monophysite party and wishing to make their protest against the use of any formula later than the Nicene.[67] In the West it was first said in Spain, and in 589 the Third Synod of Toledo ordered its use throughout the churches of Spain and Gaul.[68] There is some reason to believe that Pope Leo III. (795–816) sanctioned it

[63] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. civ.
[64] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 82, 271.
[65] *Ibid.* 162, 226, 427.
[66] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 286.
[67] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 84.
[68] Bruns, *Canones*, I. 213.

in Rome; but in that case it must have fallen into disuse, until finally Benedict VIII. ordered it in 1015 in obedience to the wishes of the emperor Henry II., after which it gradually came into general use in the West. [69]

The Creed as we have it in the Gregorian rites and in the English follows the form of the early baptismal Creeds in using the singular, "I believe." The Ambrosian has the same, with slight verbal differences. The same appears also in the Byzantine rite, from which it passed into the Greek orthodox liturgies of St. James in Syria and St. Mark in Alexandria.[70] But the plural, "We believe," as used in the Creeds of the Councils, is followed in the Mozarabic rite and also in the Coptic, Ethiopic, Persian and Armenian.[71] In each of these there are some slight variations and insertions, especially in the Armenian, which adds also the original anathema of the Nicene Council against those who denied the faith. In the liturgy of the Syrian Monophysites the people say individually "I believe" while the priest leads with "We believe." [72]

There are two points in which the Western Creed differs from the Eastern. The words "God of God" in the original Creed of Nicaea were omitted by the Council of Constantinople as superfluous, being repeated in the words "Very God of very God"; and these are still omitted in the Eastern form, and also in some ancient versions of the Western, as in the Gelasian Sacramentary [73] and in the Stowe Missal; [74] but the usual Latin form of the Creed retains the words. A more important difference between the West and the East is the addition of *Filioque*, "And the Son," after the words "Who proceedeth from the Father." This phrase was first inserted in Spain at the third Council of Toledo in 589, or possibly at an earlier date, whence it came into general use in France in the eighth century,[75] and was finally adopted by the Church of Rome in the ninth century.[76]

The usual position of the Creed in the Western Churches is after the Gospel, but in the East it stands in the next section of the service, in some cases before and in some after the kiss of peace which precedes the Oblation of the Elements.

[69] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 287 *sq.*
[70] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 42, 124, 383.
[71] *Ibid.* 162, 226, 270, 426.
[72] *Ibid.* 82.
[73] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 540.
[74] Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 232.
[75] Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, (1858), 105, 121.
[76] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 283.

The Armenian liturgy placed it after the Gospel in the twelfth century, but it was previously in the later position.[77] The Ambrosian rite has it as in the Eastern rites. In the Mozarabic it stands after the Consecration and before the Lord's Prayer; but on Palm Sunday, between the Prophecy and the Epistle, there is the delivery of the Creed to the Catechumens, who repeat it after the priest three times. It appears that the emperor Justin II. (565–578) directed it to be said before the Lord's Prayer in the Byzantine rite,[78] and this position was assigned to it throughout the Churches of Spain and Gaul by the Third Synod of Toledo (Canon II.) in 589.[79]

6. The Sermon or Homily.

No actual direction for a Sermon is found in the medieval missals; but the book of 1549, placing it after the lections and the Creed, probably continues an existing usage which also prevailed in France and elsewhere.[80] Durandus in the thirteenth century speaks of it in this position;[81] but the Roman missal of 1570 directs that it shall be before the Creed.[82] In the English Church it had more usually been preached after the procession preceding the mass, or after the Offertory, or even after the Sanctus.[83]

We may regard St. Paul's address at Troas (Acts xx. 11) as the first recorded instance of a sermon at the Eucharist; and the so-called Second Epistle of St. Clement is in fact a Homily addressed to the Church of Corinth, probably of the second century.[84] In that century Justin Martyr mentions the instruction and exhortation given by the president after the reader has finished the lections.[85] The Homilies of Origen show that this was the rule in the East in the third century;[86] the Egyptian Church Order gives evidence of the same rule from Africa;[87] and St. Cyprian makes allusion to his preaching on the lection which has been read.[88] For the fourth century we find in the liturgical directions of the Apostolic Constitutions and also in the writings of St. Chrysostom that the lections

[77] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 426; *cf.* 574.
[78] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 290.
[79] Bruns, *Canones*, I. 213.
[80] Chambers, *Divine Worship*, 337 *sq.*
[81] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 312.
[82] *Ritus celebr. Missam*, vi. 6.
[83] Brightman, *Engl. Rite*, p. civ.; Simmons, *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 317–319.
[84] Lightfoot, *S. Clem. Rom.* II. 194 (1891).
[85] Above, p. 20.
[86] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 30.
[87] *Ibid.* 59.
[88] Cypr., *De Mortalitate*, II. 156 (ed. Fell).

were followed by an exhortation or homily.[89] In the early part of the fifth century the sermons of St. Augustine afford frequent evidence that they were preached after the Gospel, and often allude to the passage which has been read.[90] We have also sermons of St. Leo a few years later and of St. Gregory the Great at the close of the sixth century; but during these periods in Rome preaching was rare and was for the most part confined to bishops.[91] In the Gallican Church there was no such restriction, and we learn from St. Germain of Paris that a sermon after the Gospel was the rule.[92] In England the regulations known as the Excerpts of Egbert archbishop of York (732–766) and the Canons of Elfric archbishop of Canterbury (995–1005) required priests to preach upon the Gospel; and this became the general custom and was followed by Wyclif in the fourteenth century.[93]

The use of Homilies composed by others, in place of original sermons, is mentioned with approval by St. Augustine and has always been sanctioned by authority; but in early times they were committed to memory;[94] though the custom of reading homilies instead of preaching is mentioned by St. Germain.[95] In the English Church of the eleventh century a book of homilies was compiled and partly composed by Aelfric, probably the archbishop of York (1023–51); others are frequently mentioned among the books used in the services of the Western Church in the subsequent centuries, each important church having its *Legenda*, or book of lections, which included homilies; and a book of Epistles and Gospels with some homilies added was issued by authority in 1540.[96] The Book of Homilies in 1547 has already been mentioned.[97]

7. The Exhortations.

Addresses to the people forming a permanent feature of the service, and thus distinguished from occasional Homilies, are found in all ancient rites, though not extended to so great length as those of the English service. It is perhaps an accidental coincidence that after the Offertory, in the place

[89] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 3, 29, 527, 531.
[90] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 182.
[91] *Ibid.* 79 *sq.*; Fortescue, *The Mass*, 284 *sq.*
[92] *Expos. Brevis.* Ep. I. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 92).
[93] Simmons, *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 212.
[94] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 328.
[95] *Expos. Brevis*, as above, 91 *sq.*
[96] Scudamore, as above, 331 *sqq.*
[97] P. 66.

where the Exhortation now stands, the Latin Missal has a brief address of which the Sarum form is: "Pray, brethren and sisters, for me that the sacrifice which is mine and yours alike may be accepted by our Lord God." A similar address in a still briefer form occurs in the same place in the Mozarabic, where it is followed almost immediately by a remarkable passage called the *Missa*, which varies with the day and is common to the Gallican rites in general. It is designated a prayer (*oratio*) in the Mozarabic; elsewhere it is *collectio* or *prefatio*; but it usually, though not always, takes the form of an address to the people. In most of the Gallican rites it is, or at least it includes, an invitation to prayer; but in the Mozarabic it is frequently an exhortation relating to the special subject of the day. The following unusually brief example is the *Missa* for the fifth Sunday in Advent: "Rejoice, I pray you, beloved brethren, and lift up your joyful hearts, for now your redemption draweth nigh: prepare his way in your hearts, that ye may be rewarded with eternal gifts at his coming. ℟. Amen." [98]

The Eastern liturgies commonly have a call to intercessory prayer, after the manner of a Western Bidding Prayer, at this point of the service; and in some rites a short passage addressed to the people occurs among the prayers. The Abyssinian liturgy has such an address with some points of resemblance to the English Exhortation: "If there be any who is pure let him receive of the host and whoso is not pure let him not receive, that he be not consumed in the fire of the godhead; whoso hath revenge in his heart and whoso hath an alien mind by reason of unchastity. I am pure from the blood of you all and from your sacrilege against the body and blood of Christ: I have nought to do with your reception thereof: I am pure of your error, and your sin will return upon your own head if ye receive not in purity." [99]

The so-called Cherubic Hymn of the Constantinopolitan rite, presently to be noticed, is in fact a brief exhortation to devout worship.

8. Litany.

In the Latin rite certain prayers had followed after the scriptural lections on two special occasions. The Litany was

[98] *Miss. Mozar.*, Ed. Leslie, p. 17. [99] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 226.

appointed to be said at this point at the consecration of bishops, and this was continued in 1549 and is still retained.[1] Also on Good Friday a series of seventeen "solemn prayers" (*orationes solennes*), which appear in the Gelasian Sacramentary,[2] had followed here; and of these the sixth (for "the whole body of the church") was retained, and the subjects of some of the others were summed up in a second prayer (for "all Jews," etc.), the two being transferred to be said as additional collects with the collect of the day. The insertion of a second litany at this point, in addition to one or more which had already been said, is found in the great majority of liturgies and is to be understood in connection with the catechumenical system of early days, the previous litany having belonged to the "Mass of the Catechumens," whereas this begins the "Mass of the Faithful," following after the catechumens have been dismissed.[3]

The deacon's litany preceding the dismissal remained in the Gallican rite in the time of St. Germain.[4] A threefold *Kyrie Eleison* is the relic of it still surviving after the Gospel in the Ambrosian rite; and the same, though deferred until a little later, occurs in the Mozarabic rite. In this rite also a fuller survival of the litany appears on the first five Sundays of Lent at an earlier point, between the Prophecy and the Epistle, where each of these Sundays has a metrical litany,[5] but on Palm Sunday the delivery of the Creed takes the place of this.[6] Similarly the Stowe Missal has a litany between the Epistle and Gospel;[7] and it is remarkable that the opening words are the same as in the litany after the Gospel in the Constantinopolitan rite: "Let us all say from our whole heart and our whole mind, Lord hear and have mercy."[8]

9. Dismissal of the Catechumens.

In the fourth century we find a series of dismissals, as shown in the Clementine liturgy; first of the *Catechumens* or persons under instruction; secondly of the *Energumens* or persons possessed by evil spirits, thirdly of the *Competentes* who are

[1] Brightman, *The English Rite*, 1006.
[2] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 560 *sqq.*
[3] See next note.
[4] *Expos. Brevis*, Ep. I. (*P. L.* lxxii. 92).
[5] Neale, *Liturgical Essays*, 141–146.
[6] *Miss. Moz.* ed. Leslie, 151.
[7] Warren, *Celtic Ch.*, 229.
[8] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 200.

prepared and awaiting baptism, and lastly of the *Penitents* who are temporarily excluded from communion; and a short litany is appointed for each of these classes before the dismissal.[9] Allusions to them occur in the writings of the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries.[10] But changes in the disciplinary system led to a modification of these rules.[11] In the Byzantine liturgy of the ninth century only the first and third of the four classes are mentioned,[12] and only the catechumens appear in the present liturgy of St. Chrysostom,[13] as also in the Abyssinian liturgy.[14] The dismissal is no doubt implied in the "necessary notices" which are to be given in the Coptic rite.[15] In other rites where the actual dismissal is not mentioned we find after the Litany of the Faithful a proclamation by the deacon to ensure that no catechumens are remaining. Thus in the Byzantine liturgy of the ninth century immediately before the Creed the deacon calls "The doors, the doors!"[16] and the Greek liturgy of St. James, the Alexandrine St. Mark and the Armenian, as also the Sahidic canons, have before the Offertory "Let there be none of the catechumens."[17] In the Persian rite the definite dismissal of the unbaptised is deferred until this point,[18] and both here and in the Greek St. James we have, as in the Byzantine, the call to watch the doors. The Syriac version of St. James seems to be singular in having lost all reference to the catechumens.

In the Roman Church allusions to the catechumenical system are still found in the time of St. Gregory the Great.[19] But practically there ceased to be any adult catechumens, and the Gelasian Sacramentary shows that penitents undergoing discipline retired to monasteries from the beginning of Lent until Maundy Thursday.[20] Hence the ceremony of dismissal dropped out of the liturgy. The First Roman Order shows that in the eighth century the form of dismissal was only used on the seven days of the *Scrutinium* during Lent when the catechumens were examined before their baptism.[21]

There are references to the dismissals both of catechumens

[9] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 3–9.
[10] *Ibid.* 521, 524.
[11] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 83.
[12] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 30, 346 *sq.*
[13] *Ibid.* 375.
[14] *Ibid.* 222.
[15] *Ibid.* 158.
[16] *Ibid.* 321.
[17] *Ibid.* 41, 122, 430, 462.
[18] *Ibid.* 267.
[19] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 171.
[20] *Ibid.* 171, 437. *Cf.* Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 549.
[21] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 81 *Cf.* Muratori (as above), I. 533.

and of penitents in the Gallican Church early in the sixth century, at the Council of Agde (canon 60) in 506 and in those of Epaon (canon 29) and of Lyons (canon 6) in 517;[22] but later in that century St. Germain mentions the deacon's proclamation for the withdrawal as continued in the liturgy although the custom had become obsolete.[23] Slight references to the system still lingered on. For example, in the Leofric Missal of the tenth century among the prayers said over the catechumens before baptism there is one for a sick penitent, one for the "competentes" or elected, and several for the energumens;[24] and one of these last occurs also in the Stowe Missal with the addition of a word which shows that converts from heathenism were contemplated: "Expel the devil and the heathenism (*gentilitatem*) from this man."[25] But in the later medieval rites all such allusions have disappeared.

The Mozarabic rite still preserves a reminiscence of the system in some words spoken to the penitents from the Wednesday after the first Sunday in Lent to the Friday before Palm Sunday, when after the Gospel and *Lauda* the priest kneels before the altar and says: "Ye penitents pray: bend your knees to God: let us beseech the Lord that he will vouchsafe to grant us remission of sins and peace: arise in the name of Christ, your prayer being done, say ye together, Amen (*and they respond* Amen): stand ye in your places at the mass."[26] On Palm Sunday the earlier part of this passage does not occur, but the call to the catechumens to "arise" is made after the first Old Testament lection, and after a second lection the Creed is delivered and they are bidden to be ready to recite it on Maundy Thursday.[27]

[22] Bruns, *Canones*, 157, 171, 174.
[23] *Expos. Brevis*, Ep. I. (*P. L.* lxxii. 92).
[24] *Miss. Leofr.*, ed. Warren, 232–235.
[25] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 207.
[26] *Miss. Moz.*, ed. Leslie, 99.
[27] *Ibid.* 150 *sq.*, 513.

Section II.—The Offertory.

1549.	1661.
Offertory Sentences.	Offertory Sentences.
Offering of bread and wine and of alms.	Offering of bread and wine and of alms.
	Offertory Prayer, with Intercession.
	Exhortation.
	Invitation.
	Confession.
	Absolution.

The Use of Sarum.

Offertorium (anthem).
Offering of bread and wine.
Censing.
Washing of hands.
Offertory prayers and *Secretae*.

[Offertorium (Anthem).]

After the Creed let the priest say, The Lord be with you, *and* Let us pray. *Then is said the* Offertorium.

[*On the feast of the Epiphany:* The kings of Tharsis and the isles shall offer presents: the kings of Arabia and Saba shall bring gifts: and all the kings of the earth shall worship him; all nations shall do him service (Ps. lxxii. 10, 11).]

[Offering of bread and wine.]

Then let the deacon give to the priest the cup with the paten and the sacrifice, and let the priest place it carefully on the midst of the altar, and let him raise the chalice with both hands offering the sacrifice to God and saying: Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation which I unworthy sinner offer in honour of thee and of blessed Mary and of all thy Saints, for my sins and offences and for salvation of the living and repose of the faithful departed: in the name of the Father and of the Son

and of the Holy Ghost, may this new sacrifice be acceptable to Almighty God. *Then let him set the cup down and cover it with the corporals and set the bread fitly upon the corporals in front of the cup containing the wine and water, and let him kiss the paten and set it on the right upon the altar under the corporals.*

[Censing.]

After this let him take the thurible from the deacon and cense the sacrifice, saying: Let my prayer, O Lord, be set forth in thy sight as the incense. *Then let the priest be censed by the deacon, and let the subdeacon bring him the Textus to kiss; then let an acolyte cense the choir.*

[Washing of hands.]

When this is done let the priest go to the right side of the altar and wash his hands, saying: Cleanse me, O Lord, from all defilement of mind and body that I may be able in cleanness to fulfil the holy work of the Lord.

[Offertory Prayers and Secretae.]

Then bending before the altar let him say: In a spirit of humility and a contrite heart let us be accepted of thee, O Lord; and so let our sacrifice be in thy sight that it may be accepted of thee this day and may be pleasing to thee, O Lord God.[28] *And rising let him kiss the altar and let him give the blessing over the sacrifice and sign himself, saying:* In the Name of the Father, etc.

Then let him turn to the people and say in a low voice: Pray, brethren and sisters, for me, that the sacrifice which is alike mine and yours may be accepted by the Lord our God. *Response of the clergy privately:* May the grace of the Holy Spirit enlighten thy heart and thy lips, and may the Lord deign to accept this sacrifice of praise from thy hands for our sins and offences.

And turning to the altar let the priest say the Secret Prayers *according to the number and order of those said before the Epistle, beginning* Let us pray.

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* We beseech thee, O Lord, graciously look upon the gifts of thy church, whereby is no longer offered gold, frankincense and myrrh, but that which in those gifts is signified, sacrificed and received, Jesus Christ our Lord; who with thee liveth, etc.]

Which prayers being ended let him say aloud World without end. ℟. Amen.

[28] *Song of the Three Children*, 16, 17 (Daniel iii. 39, 40, in Vulgate).

NOTES.

1. The Offering of Bread and Wine and of Alms.
2. The Mixed Cup.
3. The Offertory Anthem.
4. The Offertory Prayers.
5. The Diptychs.
6. *Missa Sicca.*
7. The Washing of Hands.
8. The Kiss of Peace.
9. Penitential Prayers.

1. The Offertory of Bread and Wine and of Alms.

At the earliest period to which the matter can be traced the offerings of bread and wine were brought by the worshippers and the portions required for the service were selected and set upon the altar.[29] St. Cyprian in the year 254 rebukes wealthy ladies for taking part in the sacrifice without bringing an offering.[30] The Eastern usage of the fourth century is seen in the Apostolic Constitutions, which speak of the brethren offering "their sacrifices, that is, offerings," either by themselves or by the deacons.[31] It is mentioned also by St. Gregory Nazianzen[32] and in the next century by St. Cyril of Alexandria.[33]

For the Western Church, in the first Roman Order, probably representing the usage of the sixth century, the loaves and the flasks of wine are collected from the laity by the clergy and presented to the bishop,[34] and the ceremony is described also in the so-called Ordo of St. Amand, *c.* 800.[35] The custom still survives in certain places in France; but the most prominent relic of it is in the Ambrosian liturgy at Milan, where the elements are brought in by the *vecchioni*, two men and two women, who are members of a confraternity of aged people attached to the cathedral.[36] In the Mozarabic rite the offering by the people has long been disused;[37] but a rubric directs

[29] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 584; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 173 *sq.*; Fortescue, *The Mass*, 299.
[30] Cyprian, *De Opere et Eleemosynis*, I. 203 (ed. Fell).
[31] *Const. Apost.* II. xxvii.
[32] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 525 (18).
[33] *Ibid.* 508 (6).
[34] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 134–136; *cf.* 7.
[35] *Ibid.* 157.
[36] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 204; Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, 204.
[37] Neale, *Liturgical Essays* (ed. 2), 148.

the priest to "turn to the people and make the Offertory if he pleases," while the *sacrificium*, or offertory-anthem, is sung; after which the prayers of oblation include a petition for "all those offerers for whom it is offered"; and the importance anciently attached to the ceremony is shown in the fact that the fixed part of the liturgy is called in that rite by the title "Of all the offerers," the *Liber Omnium Offerentium* being distinguished from the *Missale* or the book containing the variable parts.[38] An English "Order of Consecration of Nuns," of the fifteenth century, requires each one who is to be consecrated to bring to the deacon "a patine with an host and a cruett wyth wine";[39] and a survival of the custom is seen when the sovereign presents the elements to the archbishop at the coronation.

When the bread and wine were brought by the worshippers the remainder which was not needed for the service was put aside for distribution to the poor.[40] It appears that this led to the addition of other kinds of offerings, which needed to be checked. In the so-called Apostolic Canons, of very early date, Canon III. forbids the bishop or priest to present offerings of "honey or milk or strong drink instead of wine, or made-up things, or birds or any animals or pulse"; but it allows "fresh ears of corn or grapes at the proper season";[41] and at the Trullan Council held at Constantinople in 691 one of the canons forbids the people to bring to the sanctuary joints of meat for the use of the clergy, which was done in Armenia; another forbids grapes and another milk and honey.[42] In the Church of Spain an offertory of other things for the use of the church was frequent in the eighteenth century and not obsolete in the nineteenth.[43]

The first mention of the offering of money at the Eucharist appears to be in a letter of St. Isidore of Seville in 595,[44] but of doubtful authenticity. In the eleventh century Peter Damian tells of an occasion when some wives of princes offered gold pieces; and Honorius of Autun, in the twelfth century, speaks definitely of the people giving money instead of bread and wine.[45]

[38] Leslie, *Miss. Mozar.*, 547*b*.
[39] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, II. 354 (ed. II).
[40] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 345; Fortescue, *The Mass*, 299.
[41] Bruns, *Canones*, I. 1.
[42] *Ibid.* 45, 54, 63 (canons 28, 57, 99).
[43] Neale, *Liturgical Essays*, 148.
[44] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 350.
[45] *Ibid.*; Fortescue, *The Mass*, 300.

The Mozarabic rite, after the oblation of the elements already mentioned, and at the close of the Offertory prayers, directs, "After this let the people offer"; this second offering consisting of money or other things for the maintenance of the clergy and the poor.[46]

The English Missals, like the Roman, make no mention of any offering by the people; but it is implied in the words now occurring in the earlier part of the canon of the mass, praying for those "who offer to thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and their families."[47] The "Lay Folks' Mass Book" of the twelfth century speaks of it as immediately following the Creed: "After that, fast at hande, comes tho time of offrande; Offer or leeve, whether the lyst."[48] The revisers of 1549 were therefore acting in full accordance with ancient practice when they made the offering of alms a definite feature of the service.

After the Offertory was sung and the people's offerings were made, the bread and the wine were to be offered in 1549 as in the ancient rite. It is implied that they were ready at hand. The Sarum missal had directed that they should be brought in after the introit was sung; and the rubric after the Offertory directs the deacon to "give to the priest the cup with the paten and the sacrifice" (the paten being placed on the cup), and the priest having offered them is to place them on the altar "and set the bread upon the corporals in front of the cup containing the wine and water." The directions in the York use are brief: the priest is to "place the host on the corporal cloths and say the prayer, 'Receive, O Holy Trinity,' etc.; also the cup with water." Both rites imply that the cup is already prepared with the wine and water in it. But the Roman rite as early as the eighth century[49] directs that the wine and water shall be mixed in the cup at the time of offering, and the Hereford use follows this. It seems probable that this usage had been adopted also in the Sarum rite in the curtailed ceremonial of "Low Mass," and hence it was followed by the compilers of the book of 1549.

2. The Mixed Cup.

The custom of mixing water with the wine is almost certainly a tradition from the Paschal ritual of the Jews.[50] It is mentioned by Justin Martyr[51] and also by Irenaeus in the second

[46] Leslie, *Missale Mozar.*, 537.
[47] Below, p. 145.
[48] Ed. Simmons, p. 22.
[49] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 137, 157.
[50] Warren, *Antenicene Church*, 28.
[51] Above, p. 19 *sq.*

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century;[52] and Cyprian in the middle of the third century insists strongly upon the mixture as resting upon the authority of our Lord Himself.[53] The testimony of these last is the more forcible since they were writing against the practice of certain heretics who used water only and no wine.[54] In the fourth century we find it inserted in the recital of the institution in the Clementine liturgy, and the same appears in other early rites.[55]

The use of the mixed cup is universal in the ancient churches with the single exception of the Armenian, which probably dropped it as a protest against those who used water only. There is evidence that the Armenian liturgy once directed it. For this, like kindred liturgies, has an introductory "Office of the Prothesis" for the preparation of the eucharistic elements; and in that office in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom the wine and water is poured into the chalice with the words of St. John xix. 34, "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side and straightway there came out blood and water;[56] the same passage being introduced at the same point in the romanised Byzantine liturgy of St. Peter[57] and in two forms of the Syrian Monophysite rite;[58] and when we compare the similar Office of the Prothesis in the Armenian rite we have in some versions of it the passage: "Then taking the wine he pours it crosswise into the chalice, saying, In remembrance of the saving dispensation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ through the fountain of whose blood flowing from his side his creatures have been renewed and made immortal."[59] When we find the mention of the water omitted from this passage it is reasonable to infer that the omission was made for the sake of consistency when the wine was used without the water, and therefore that this liturgy was originally in agreement with the others.

3. The Offertory Anthem.

There is no trace of any hymn of praise accompanying the Offertory in the earliest times. The Clementine liturgy,

[52] *Contr. Haer.* V. ii.
[53] Cypr., Ep. lxiii. (II. 148 *sqq.* Ed. Fell).
[54] Warren, *Antenicene Church*, 109 *sqq.*
[55] See p. 166.
[56] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 357; *cf.* 544 *sq.*, 547.
[57] *Ibid.* 542; *cf.* xci.
[58] Renaudot *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, II. 3, 13.
[59] Malan, *The Armenian Liturgy*, 25. Only the opening words of this passage appear in Brightman, 419.

representing the usage of the fourth century, has no mention of such a hymn, nor is it found in the Syriac St. James nor in the Coptic and Ethiopic rites. In the old English rites, as in the Roman, no *Offertorium* is said on Easter Eve; and this fact no doubt testifies to the primitive practice. It appears to have been introduced at this point in the same way as at the introit.[60] As the elements were carried to the altar with increased ceremonial, so the accompanying psalmody was developed.

In the earlier part of the fifth century the Church of Carthage had begun the custom of singing "hymns from the book of Psalms" at the altar before the Offertory, and St. Augustine tells of a layman of tribunal rank there who was disturbed by it.[61] The same custom is carried on in the Gregorian missals, where the great majority of *Offertoria* are from the Psalter; but in several cases they are from other parts of Scripture, and in rare instances they are not from Scripture. There is no ancient precedent for a series of passages relating chiefly to the people's offerings such as were introduced into the English rite of 1549.

The procession of the oblation in the Gallican rite of the sixth century is described by St. Germain;[62] and that in the Roman Church of the eighth century appears in the First Roman Order, which alludes to the choir (*schola cantorum*) singing during the Offertory, and when it is finished the bishop signs them to cease.[63] St. Germain speaks of a hymn called *Sonus* being sung during the procession, and after the elements are placed on the altar there is another which he calls, "Laudes, that is, Alleluia," the Alleluia being repeated three times.[64] In the Mozarabic rite the former anthem is called *Laudes* and the second is *Sacrificium*; but in the present missal some Offertory prayers have been inserted between them. In the Ambrosian the one is *Antiphona post Evangelium* and the other is *Offertorium*; but these latter differ from those of the Gregorian rite and a smaller proportion of them is from the Psalter.

The ceremony known as the Great Entrance is an important feature of the Eastern rites, especially of the Byzantine and the Armenian.[65] St. Maximus in the middle of the seventh

[60] Above, p. 97.

[61] St. Aug., *Retract.* II. xi. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxii. 634).

[62] *Expos. Brev.*, Ep. I. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 92 *sq.*).

[63] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 133 *sqq.* *cf.* 156 *sqq.*

[64] *Expos. Brev.*, as above.

[65] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 373 *sq.*

century speaks of it as the "Entrance of the Holy Mysteries."[66] During this ceremony in the Byzantine liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom the "Cherubic Hymn" is sung: "We who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn of the live-giving Trinity, lay we aside all earthly care as we welcome the King of all who is invisibly attended by the guard of the angelic hosts: Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia."[67] This was inserted in the liturgy in the reign of Justin II. (565–578),[68] and through the influence of the Church of Constantinople it passed into the Alexandrine St. Mark and into the Armenian liturgy. The hymn appears to have been developed from a more ancient original which is represented elsewhere in early forms.[69] One of these: "Now the powers of the heavens serve invisibly with us," used in the Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified, is found in the Paschal Chronicle, A.D. 645;[70] and another, "Let all mortal flesh be silent," is proper to Easter Eve and is adopted either as an alternative or as an addition to the Cherubic Hymn in the Greek St. James,[71] while the germ of it occurs also in the Persian rite.[72] In all of these we have the dominant thought that the Lord Himself comes forward and His worshippers must join with the angels in welcoming Him. In the Persian rite this hymn is followed by an "Anthem of the Mysteries"[73] varying with the day like the Western *Offertorium*.

4. The Offertory Prayers.

A series of Offertory-prayers is found both in the English missals and in the Roman. Of these the most important is the concluding one, varying with the day and known as the *Secreta* or secret prayer. This title, which occurs as early as the Gelasian Sacramentary, appears to have arisen when it had become usual for the priest to say the prayer in a low voice.[74] There might be more than one, the number corresponding with that of the collects. In the formula introducing the *Secreta*, in which the priest bids the "brethren and sisters" to pray for the acceptance of "the sacrifice which is alike mine and yours" (*meum pariterque vestrum*), we see a

[66] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 535.
[67] *Ibid.* 377. *Cf.* 318.
[68] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 372.
[69] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 122, 431.
[70] *Ibid.* 348; *cf.* xciii.
[71] *Ibid.* 41; *cf.* 573.
[72] *Ibid.* 267.
[73] *Ibid.* 268 *sq.*
[74] Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, 412; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 118.

reminiscence of the people's offering; and this appears again in the Sarum *Secreta* of the Saturday in the fifth week of Lent: "Accept, Almighty Creator, the things which we in our fast present out of the largeness of thy bounty; and what thou hast bestowed for our temporal aid be pleased to convert to our eternal life." The Ambrosian rite has two variable prayers: the one is called *Oratio super sindonem*, when the linen is spread upon the altar before the *Offertorium*; but this has no special character to distinguish it from a collect, and several examples of it occur as collects in other missals: the second, following after the offering, is called *Oratio super oblatam*, this being the proper offertory-prayer. But in the Gallican rites we have here an address to the people, called the *Prefatio missae*, or in the Mozarabic rite simply *Missa*; though it is designated *oratio* and is in fact a form of bidding prayer.[75]

We learn from Micrologus, who wrote about 1160, that the Roman rite had no offertory-prayer before the *Secreta*.[76] But several passages have been inserted since that date from Gallican and Mozarabic sources,[77] and the first of them occurs in more or less varied forms in the old English rites also. In every case it is expressed there in the singular, as a personal prayer of the priest, relating to "this oblation which I offer unto thee." But the Mozarabic rite has it in the plural: "Acceptable to thy divine majesty, Almighty everlasting God, be the oblation which we offer to thee for our sins and wickedness and for the stability of the holy catholic church and for those who hold the apostolic faith; through Christ our Lord." The Ambrosian like the Gregorian rites has inserted fixed prayers at the oblation in addition to the variable prayer.

The liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions has no actual offertory-prayer, but the intercessory litany said at this point by the deacon has a petition "for those who are bringing their sacrifices and first fruits to the Lord.[78] In the Eastern liturgies generally there is a definite prayer that the oblation may be accepted, but in several of them it is said silently while the deacon says a litany with responses by the choir. Such is the "Prayer of the Oblation" in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: "O Lord, God Almighty, who only art only, who dost accept

[75] Above, p. 123.
[76] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 412.
[77] *Ibid.* 413.
[78] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 11.

a sacrifice of praise from them that call upon thee with their whole heart: receive the supplication of us sinners, and bring us near to thy holy altar, and enable us to offer unto thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices for our sins and for the ignorances of the people; and vouchsafe that we may find grace in thy sight that our sacrifice may be well-pleasing to thee and that the good spirit of thy grace may dwell upon us and upon these gifts laid before thee and upon all thy people: (*aloud*) through the mercies of thy only-begotten Son," etc.[79]

In other liturgies it is called the "Prayer of the Veil," in reference to the entrance of the priest through the veil into the sanctuary; and this has in the Greek liturgy of St. James the remarkable opening clause: "We give thee thanks, O Lord our God, that thou hast given us boldness to enter into thy holy place by the way which thou hast dedicated for us as a new and living way through the veil of the flesh of thy Christ."[80] It has been argued that this passage is the basis upon which the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (x. 19, 20) are founded; and certainly if the compiler of the prayer had the Epistle before him it is difficult to account for his omission of the words "by the blood of Jesus," whereas they are words with which the writer of the Epistle might most naturally supplement the liturgical passage; and the same remarks apply to the words "Having a great priest over the house of God," which immediately follow in the Epistle; for each of these clauses introduces a subject of which the context is treating.

5. The Diptychs.

The English revisers of 1552 did not act entirely without precedent in appending the Intercession to the oblation of the elements. It will presently be seen that in the earliest rites the great Intercession stands in the latter part of the Prayer of Consecration. But we find a very widespread tendency to place it in an earlier position, such as that, for example, in which it stands both in the Latin rite and in that of 1549, before the consecration. We also find almost universally a secondary form of intercession in close connection with the offertory in a position similar to that to which the chief intercession in the English rite has been removed. In early times it was the custom to mention here the names of those who

[79] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 380 *sqq.*

[80] *Ibid.* 48.

took part in making the oblation.[81] Hence there came the reading of the Diptychs, or folded tablets, containing on the one side the names of the living, and on the other side those of the departed, for whom prayers were to be offered.[82] This took place immediately after the offertory and before the kiss of peace in the Gallican rite as described by St. Germain;[83] and this was the position of it in the Byzantine liturgy of the seventh century,[84] as it still is in the Persian, where the diptychs are called "the book of the living and the dead."[85] But as early as the sixth century some liturgies deferred it until after the kiss of peace;[86] and at this place in the Egyptian rites the deacon bids the people "Pray for them that offer."[87] At Constantinople it has disappeared; but it is represented by a litany said by the deacon before the kiss of peace in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom,[88] and a similar litany represents it in the later position in the Greek St. James.[89] In the Gregorian rites the prayer which belonged to the reading of the Diptychs is now placed after the *Sanctus* hymn and begins the Canon,[90] where it will be noted in due course in connection with the intercession of 1549, the terms of which are chiefly derived from it. Also the commemoration of the departed. placed at the close of the intercession in 1661, will be noted in connection with the passage from which it was adapted.

The immediate precedent for the English offertory-prayer with an appended intercession, as introduced here in 1552, is to be seen in the prayer which immediately followed the *Offertorium* in the rites of Sarum and York, commencing "Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation," etc., then commemorating "Blessed Mary and all thy Saints," and finally praying "for salvation of the living and repose of the faithful departed."[91] The Roman rite has here a similar prayer "for all who are present and for all faithful Christians living and departed," while the clause commemorating "Blessed Mary," with others, "and All Saints" occurs in one of the subsequent offertory-prayers. The intercession at this point is much fuller in the Gallican rites. In the Ambrosian it is: "Receive, O

[81] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 375.
[82] Atchley, *Ordo Rom I.*, 99; Fortescue, *The Mass*, 115.
[83] *Expos. Brev.*, Ep. I. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 93).
[84] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 535 *sq.*
[85] *Ibid.* 275.
[86] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 85.
[87] Brightman (as above), 124, 203.
[88] *Ibid.* 380 *sqq.*
[89] *Ibid.* 44.
[90] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 142, 144.
[91] Above, p. 127.

Holy Trinity, this oblation which we offer to thee for the government and custody and unity of the catholic faith and for the veneration of the Blessed Mary Mother of God and also of all thy Saints, and for the salvation and safety of thy servants and handmaids and of all those for whom we have promised to implore thy mercy and of those whose alms we have received, and of all faithful Christians living and departed," etc.

The Mozarabic rite has an invitation of which the first clause reminds us at once of the English rite: "Let us have in mind in our prayers the Holy Catholic Church," etc. Then follows a variable prayer, merely entitled *Alia Oratio*, but in other Gallican rites it is *Oratio ante nomina*, implying that the Diptychs are to follow. This in the Mozarabic introduces a fixed passage, "Through thy mercy, O our God, in whose sight the names of the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins are recited"; and it proceeds to state that those who offer the oblation are "our priests the pope of Rome and the rest; for themselves and for all the clergy and the peoples of the church consigned to them, and for the universal brotherhood; and moreover all presbyters, deacons, clergy, and the people present offer it in honour of the saints for themselves and theirs"; after which follows a commemoration of "the most blessed apostles and martyrs," naming "the glorious holy Virgin Mary, Zacharias, John, the Infants," with the twelve apostles and St. Mark and St. Luke; and it concludes with prayer "for the spirits of them that are at rest," naming forty-seven saints, "and all who are at rest" (*omnium pausantium*). Then there is another variable prayer, *Oratio post nomina*.

The introductory bidding of the English rite, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church," is taken from the *orationes solennes* said after the Gospel on Good Friday in the Sarum Missal,[92] where some editions prefix the heading, "For the whole state of the Church" (*pro universali statu ecclesiae*), and the prayers commence, "Let us pray, dearly beloved, first for the holy Church of God." The similar bidding before the Mozarabic *alia oratio* has been mentioned.[93] The words "Militant here in earth," added by the revisers of 1552, are from the Sarum "Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary."[94]

[92] Above, p. 124.
[93] P. 123.
[94] Brightman, *English Rite*, 662.

6. Missa Sicca.

There is ancient precedent for the direction given in the final rubrics of the English rite that on certain days if there is no celebration of the Holy Communion the service shall be said until after the offertory. This abbreviated rite corresponds to the ancient Mass of the Catechumens with the offertory added to it; and such a service, but without the offertory, was used in early times on Wednesdays and Fridays if the liturgy was not said, those being known as the Station-days.[95] The historian Socrates, in the former half of the fifth century, speaks of this as already an ancient custom at Alexandria.[96] The English usage corresponds still more closely to the medieval "Dry Mass" (*Missa sicca*).[97] This is described by Durandus (A.D. 1286) as a service which could be performed by a priest at any time when he was unable to celebrate the mass, and it included the earlier part of the mass as far as the offertory; or even the preface might be added and the concluding prayers; but everything that was essential to the sacrifice must be omitted.[98] This rite was used in several churches in France at funerals and on other occasions at least as late as the end of the seventeenth century.[99] The ancient blessing of the water on the eve of the Epiphany in the Western Church was in form a *missa sicca*.[1]

The "Mass of the Presanctified" originated out of this service, the earlier parts of the liturgy being said, followed by the reception of communion from the reserved Sacrament but without any consecration.[2] The Council of Laodicea (canon 49) in the year 365 or earlier ordered that the Eucharist should not be celebrated in Lent "except on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day";[3] and the Trullan Council (canon 52) in 691 ordered that on every day of Lent except the Sabbath and the Lord's Day and the Feast of the Annunciation "the sacred liturgy of the presanctified should be performed."[4] This rite is first mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle in 645.[5] In the East it came to be used on all days of special solemnity when

[95] Procter and Frere, *Hist. of the Bk. of Common Prayer*, 331.
[96] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* V. xxii.
[97] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. cxii.
[98] Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, IV. i. 23.
[99] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 819.

[1] Wyatt, *The Eucharistic Prayer*, 21.
[2] Procter and Frere (as above), 498, 536 *sq.*
[3] Bruns, *Canones*, I. 78.
[4] *Ibid.* 53.
[5] *Chron. Pasch.* (*Patr. Gr.* xcii. 989).

the liturgy is not celebrated.[6] In the Church of Rome it was confined to Good Friday as early as the Gelasian Sacramentary of the eighth century,[7] and this accordingly became the usage of the English Church. But in the Milanese rite it is used on all Fridays in Lent.[8] There is no mention of any Mass of the Presanctified in the Mozarabic rite as known to St. Isidore nor in the canons of the Spanish Councils, but it was introduced on Good Friday at a later period.[9]

7. The Washing of Hands.

The preliminary washing of the hands at the beginning of the liturgy with its symbolical character has been noted above.[10] A further washing at the offertory is very generally prescribed.[11] This was required on practical grounds after the ministers had received the offerings of the people and before they prepared the oblation which was to be consecrated.[12] But it will appear that the symbolical meaning, as in the previous washing, soon became attached to it.

It should be noted that the hymn *Veni Creator*, prefixed to the prayer for cleansing at the beginning of the Sarum rite, is prefixed to this washing after the offertory in the York use and in that of Hereford. The Sarum use has a second prayer for cleansing at this later washing, and the Hereford use has here a similar prayer. The York use has the verse, "I will wash my hands among the innocent and will encompass thine altar, O Lord";[13] and the Roman has this verse with the remainder of the Psalm. The Mozarabic rite directs the washing after the offering of the bread and wine and after the people's offering if there be one.[14] It does not appear in the Ambrosian rite; but at the close of the prayers of the offertory the priest prays that it may be accepted "for my cleansing, that thou wouldst cleanse and purge me from all stains of sins"; which sufficiently indicates that this rite originally agreed with the others in having the washing here.

The Clementine rite gives the direction after the offertory: "Let one of the subdeacons give the washing of hands to the priests, a symbol of purity of souls dedicated to God."[15] It

[6] Procter and Frere (as above), 537.
[7] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 562.
[8] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 902.
[9] *Miss. Moz.*, ed. Leslie, 517.
[10] Pp. 9, 99.
[11] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 310.
[12] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 579 *sq.*
[13] Ps. xxvi. (xxv.) 6 (*vulg.*).
[14] See above, p. 129 *sq.*
[15] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 13.

is prescribed here in the Persian rite,[16] and also, with Psalm xxvi. 6, in the Armenian and in some texts of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom.[17] Also in some of those liturgies which have transferred the ceremonies of the offertory to the preparatory rite in the sacristy the washing still keeps its place before the kiss of peace. The Syriac St. James has it there,[18] with a prayer for cleansing similar to those of the Western rites; and the Ethiopic[19] corresponds with this. It does not appear in the Greek St. James; but the last prayer after the offertory has the significant petition, "Cleanse our poverty from all defilement of flesh and spirit."[20]

8. The Kiss of Peace.

From the combined testimony of the large majority of the liturgies it appears that the Kiss of Peace was a prominent feature of the rite at this point. Justin Martyr mentions it just before the offertory.[21] The early Church Orders give the direction that the clergy shall kiss the bishop, the laymen one another, and the women one another.[22] It occurs before the offertory in the Syrian, Egyptian and Persian liturgies;[23] but the Byzantine and Armenian defer it until after the offertory,[24] and this is its position in the Gallican rite, as described both by St. Germain of Paris[25] and by St. Isidore of Seville,[26] and in the present Mozarabic Missal.

The Roman rite at an early period removed it still further, placing it just before the reception of Communion, where Innocent I. mentions it at Rome in 416;[27] and accordingly this was its position in the English Missals, a tablet called the Pax being passed round.[28] But a relic of the ceremony survives after the offertory in the Sarum rite when the deacon is directed to take the *Textus*, or book of the Gospels, to be kissed by the priest and by each of the clergy; and in all the English missals, as in the Roman, a direction to kiss the altar at this point seems to be another relic of it.

The Mozarabic rite has after the offertory the variable

[16] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 271.
[17] *Ibid.* 432, 543, 549.
[18] *Ibid.* 82.
[19] *Ibid.* 226.
[20] *Ibid.* 49.
[21] Above, p. 19.
[22] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 13, 30, 461.
[23] *Ibid.* 43, 83, 123, 227, 281.
[24] *Ibid.* 382, 434.
[25] *Expos. Brevis*, Ep. I. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 93).
[26] *De Eccl. Off.* I. 15 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxiii. 752).
[27] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 110.
[28] See below, p. 197.

"Collect at the Peace" (*ad pacem*), and the kiss of peace follows, the priest giving the Pax to the deacon or server and he to the people; while the priest says, "Have the kiss of peace and love that ye may be fit for the sacred mysteries of God"; and the choir sing a version of St. John xiv. 27, "My peace I give unto you; my peace I commend unto you; not as the world giveth give I peace unto you."

The Ambrosian rite follows the Gregorian in deferring it until just before communion; but there is a relic of it in the primitive position before the offertory. Here we have a confused passage, the deacon saying, "Have the peace," and formerly adding also, "Raise yourselves for prayer"; but this latter is dropped, though the response remains, "Unto thee, O Lord"; [29] and then follows the *oratio super sindonem*.

The actual kiss has been disused in the East as well as in the West. The present liturgy of St. Chrysostom directs the priest to kiss the oblation thrice, saying the opening words of Psalm xviii., "I will love thee," etc., and the deacon kisses the cross upon his stole.[30] In the Persian rite each of the worshippers kisses the hand of the next, while in the Monophysite rites only a touch of the hand is passed round, and in the Armenian each one merely bows to his neighbour.[31]

We get a valuable example of the prayer of the kiss in the Eastern rites by setting together the Greek and Syriac versions of the liturgy of St. James: "O God and Lord of all, though we be unworthy account us to be worthy of this salvation, thou lover of men; that being clean from all guile and all hypocrisy we may greet one another with a holy kiss and be united in the bond of love and peace; through our Lord," etc.[32] The early date of this is the more evident when we find that it embodies the foundation upon which the fuller corresponding prayers in the Clementine and the Egyptian liturgies have been constructed.[33]

9. Penitential Prayers.

The insertion of a further penitential preparation after the offertory and before proceeding to the higher solemnities, as provided by the English revisers of 1552, has much support from antiquity, though there is no precedent for the formal

[29] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 207.
[30] Brightman, 382.
[31] *Ibid.* 585.
[32] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 43, 83.
[33] *Ibid.* 12, 123, 163, 227.

confession and absolution here. The prayer of the Sarum use, "In a spirit of humility and a contrite heart," etc., appears also in the other English missals and in the Roman. It is borrowed from the Mozarabic;[34] and there it is followed by a further prayer beginning, "I will draw near to thee in humility of spirit" and including a petition, based on Isaiah vi. 6, that the seraph with the burning coal will "cleanse my soiled lips." Also the Ambrosian rite has a prayer of the priest at the close of the offertory prayers: "Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation for my cleansing, that thou mayest cleanse and purge me from all stains of sins, so that I may be made meet to minister worthily unto thee, O God and most merciful Lord."

We have already seen that in the liturgies generally both the washing of the hands and the kiss of peace are commonly accompanied by prayers for spiritual cleansing and the removal of sin.

Section III.—The Consecration.

1549.	1661.
Salutation.	
	Comfortable Words.
Sursum Corda, etc.	*Sursum Corda*, etc.
Preface (with Proper Prefaces).	Preface (with Proper Prefaces).
Sanctus and *Benedictus* Hymn.	*Sanctus* Hymn.
Intercession.	
	Prayer before Communion.
Consecration Prayer.	Consecration Prayer.
Memorial Oblation.	
The Lord's Prayer.	

The Use of Sarum.

Salutation.
Sursum Corda, etc,
Preface (with Proper Prefaces).
Sanctus (and *Benedictus*) Hymn.

[34] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 414.

Intercession for the Living with Commemoration of Saints.
Consecration Prayer with recital of Institution.
Memorial Oblation.
Intercession for the Departed with Commemoration of Saints.
The Lord's Prayer.

[The Salutation and Sursum Corda.]
Let the priest say, The Lord [be] with you.
℟. And with thy spirit.
[Lift] upward [your] hearts.
℟. We lift them up (*habemus*) unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.
℟. It is meet and right.
[The Preface.]

It is very meet and right, just and healthful, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Everlasting God.

[*On the feast of the Epiphany:* Because when thy Only-begotten appeared in the substance of our flesh he restored us unto the true light of his immortality.]

And therefore with angels and archangels, with thrones and dominions and with all the army of the heavenly host we sing the hymn of thy glory, evermore saying. [*Instead of this festal form others are appointed for Pentecost and for Trinity Sunday.*]

[*Daily Preface.* Through Christ our Lord: through whom thy majesty is praised by angels, adored by dominions, feared by powers, glorified by the heavens and the heavenly virtues and the blessed seraphim in united rejoicing: with whom bid our voices to approach with suppliant confession, saying.]

[The Sanctus.]

Holy holy holy Lord God of Sabaoth: heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Osanna in the highest.

[*On Sundays and Festivals:* Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Osanna in the highest.]

[Intercession for the Living, etc.]

Here follows the Canon.

Thee therefore (*Te igitur*), most merciful Father, we through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord suppliantly ask and seek that thou wilt accept and bless these gi✠fts, these off✠erings, these ho✠ly unblemished sacrifices; in the first place which we offer

unto thee for thy holy catholic church, that thou wilt vouchsafe to give it peace, to guard, unite and govern it throughout the whole world, together with thy servant our pope, *N.*, and our bishop, *N.*, and our king, *N.*, and all the orthodox and maintainers of the catholic and apostolic faith.

Remember, O Lord, (*Memento Domine*), thy servants and handmaidens and all here present whose faith is acknowledged and whose devotion is known to thee; those for whom we are offering or who are themselves offering this sacrifice of praise to thee, for them and for all those pertaining to them, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, and who pay their vows to thee the eternal God, the living and true.

Being in the communion [with them] (*communicantes*)

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* And celebrating the most sacred day on which thy Only-begotten, co-eternal with thee in thy glory, appeared visibly in the body in the reality of our flesh.]

and reverencing the memory chiefly of the glorious ever-virgin Mary, mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also of thy blessed Apostles and martyrs Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all thy saints; for whose merits and prayers vouchsafe that in all things we may be defended by the help of thy protection: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

[The Prayer of Consecration.]

Therefore this oblation (*Hanc igitur oblationem*) of the service of us and of thy whole family

[*On Maundy Thursday:* Which we offer to thee for the day wherein our Lord Jesus Christ delivered to his disciples the mysteries of his body and blood to be celebrated.]

[*At Easter and Pentecost:* Which we offer to thee for those also whom thou hast vouchsafed to regenerate of water and the Holy Ghost, giving unto them forgiveness of all their sins.]

We beseech thee, O Lord, favourably to accept; and dispose our days in thy peace and bid us to be rescued from eternal damnation and numbered in the flock of thine elect: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Which oblation (*quam oblationem*), O God Almighty, in all

things, we beseech thee, vouchsafe to make bles✠sed, appro✠ved, rati✠fied, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become unto us the bo✠dy and bl✠ood of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

[The Recital of the Institution.]

Who on the day before (*Qui pridie*) he suffered,

[*On Maundy Thursday:* for the salvation of us and of all, that is, to-day.]

took bread into his holy and adorable hands, and lifting up his eyes to heaven unto thee his Father God Almighty: *here let him bow down and afterwards lift up the cup a little, saying:* giving thanks to thee he bles✠sed, brake, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this; for this is my body. *These words should be said in one breath and without pause; and after them let him lift up the host above his forehead that it may be seen by the people, and let him replace it before the cup, making a cross with it. Then let him uncover the cup and hold it between his hands, not disjoining his thumb and forefinger save only while he makes the benedictions, saying thus:* Likewise after supper taking also this excellent cup into his holy and adorable hands, and giving thanks to thee, he bles✠sed and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of it: *Here let him lift up the cup a little, saying:* For this is the cup of my blood of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of the faith, which for you and for many shall be shed for remission of sins. *Here let him lift up the cup, saying:* These things as oft as ye shall do ye shall do in remembrance of me. *Here let him replace the cup and lift up his arms in the form of a cross with his fingers joined.*

[The Memorial Oblation.]

Wherefore also having in remembrance (*unde et memores*), O Lord, the blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord God, and also his resurrection from the dead, together with his glorious ascension into heaven, we thy servants and also thy holy people offer to thy excellent majesty of thy gifts given to us (*de tuis donis ac datis*) the pu✠re sacrifice (*hostiam*), the ho✠ly sacrifice, the spot✠less sacrifice, the holy bre✠ad of eternal life and the cu✠p of everlasting salvation.

Upon which (*supra quae*) do thou vouchsafe to look with favourable and gracious countenance and to accept them even as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham and

that which thy high priest Melchisedech offered to thee, a holy offering, a spotless sacrifice.

We thy suppliants intreat thee (*supplices te rogamus*), Almighty God, command these [offerings] to be brought up (*jube haec perferri*) by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high before the sight of thy divine majesty, that as many of us as from this participation of the altar shall receive the most sacred bo✠dy and blo✠od of thy Son may be filled with all heavenly bene✠diction and grace: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Intercession for the Departed with Commemoration of Saints.]

Remember also (*Memento etiam*), O Lord, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens *N.* and *N.* who have gone before us with the sign of the faith and now sleep in the sleep of peace: to them, O Lord, and to all who are at rest in Christ, grant we beseech thee a place of refreshment, of light and of peace: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

To us also (*nobis quoque*) thy sinful servants who hope for the multitude of thy mercies vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints, into whose company we beseech thee to admit us, not weighing our merit but pardoning our offences: Through Christ our Lord, through whom, O Lord, thou dost ever create all these things good; *here let him sign the cup thrice, saying,* hall✠owest, quick✠enest, bless✠est, and bestowest [them] on us: *Here let him uncover the cup and make the sign of the cross with the host five times; first beyond the cup on either side, secondly on the width of the cup, thirdly within the cup, fourthly as the first time, fifthly in front of the cup, saying,* By ✠ him and with ✠ him and in ✠ him is to thee God the Father Al✠mighty in the unity of the Holy ✠ Ghost all honour and glory: *Here let him cover the cup and say,* Through all the ages of the ages. Amen.

[The Lord's Prayer.]

Let us pray. Admonished by saving precepts and taught by the divine institution we are bold to say: *Here let the deacon take the paten and with arm extended hold it up uncovered on the right of the priest: then let the priest raise his hands, saying,*

Our Father, *etc.* And lead us not into temptation.

Let the choir respond, But deliver us from evil.

The priest privately, Amen. Deliver us, we beseech thee O Lord, from all evils, past, present and to come; and at the intercession of the blessed and glorious and ever-virgin Mother of God, Mary, and thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew with all saints, graciously give peace in our days, that aided by thy mercy we may be ever free from sin and secure from all disturbance: through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, [*aloud*] through all the ages of the ages.[1]

Let the choir respond, Amen.

NOTES.

1. The Salutation.
2. *Sursum Corda,* etc.
3. The Preface.
4. The *Sanctus* and *Benedictus.*
5. The beginning of the Consecration-Prayer.
6. The Recital of the Institution.
7. The Memorial Oblation.
8. The Invocation of the Holy Ghost.
9. The Intercession.
10. The Lord's Prayer.

NOTES.

1. The Salutation.

The *Dominus vobiscum,* with its response, *Et cum spiritu tuo,* retained by the translators of 1549 but afterwards discarded, opens this section of the liturgy in the Gregorian rites. It appears in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus[2] early in the third century, and in the *Testament of our Lord.*[3] The Egyptian churches, following the so-called Canons of Hippolytus,[4] added the word "all," and this appears in the Ethiopic Church Order and in one of the forms given in the Sahidic canons,[5] as well as in all the African liturgies.[6]

Elsewhere we find a fuller formula. By comparing together

[1] For the rubrics accompanying the final clauses see below, p. 192.

[2] Duchesne, *Christian Worship,* 527 (ed. V.).

[3] Ed. Cooper and Maclean, 73.

[4] Duchesne, 526 (ed. I.).

[5] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies,* 189, 463.

[6] *Ibid.* 125, 164, 228.

the early Syrian and the Armenian liturgies we get what appear to be their primitive words: "The love of God the Father and the grace of the Son and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all"; with the response, "And with thy Spirit."[7] In the Byzantine liturgies[8] and in the Persian[9] we have it in the varied form which St. Paul uses (2 Cor. xiii. 14), and the Mozarabic has this also, but places it before instead of after the kiss of peace. There is ample evidence that the African rites had the benediction originally; for it occurs here in St. Paul's form in the fullest of the liturgical formularies given in the Sahidic Canons,[10] and the Coptic St. Basil has a paraphrase of that form in a prayer before the reception of communion, mentioning the *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ and the *love* of God Almighty and the *communion* filling us with the Holy Ghost;[11] while the Alexandrine St. Mark has the benediction in the Syrian form at the end of the liturgy.[12] With this last we must connect the fact that in the Roman rite a concluding benediction in the name of the Holy Trinity was customary at an early date, though no formulary was prescribed in the text of the missal until 1604.[13] Moreover the Persian rite, having its benediction in the usual place, repeats it at the close of the Consecration-prayer;[14] and it will appear that at this point, between the consecration and the reception, the Western rites had a benediction in the name of the Holy Trinity[15] which was probably more ancient than the concluding benediction already mentioned. From all the facts we can draw the obvious inference that in or before the time of Hippolytus the Roman and most of the African liturgies dropped the opening benediction and substituted for it the brief salutation.

Regarding the two forms of the benediction in the early liturgies, it has been suggested that the primary one is that of the Syrian rites, placing "the love of the Father" first; that St. Paul changed the order, in accordance with the constant tenor of his teaching, placing "the grace of the Son" first; and hence the liturgies of secondary date followed, as was natural, St. Paul's varied form.[16]

[7] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 14, 49, 85, 435.
[8] *Ibid.* 321, 384.
[9] *Ibid.* 283.
[10] *Ibid.* 461.
[11] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 632.
[12] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 143.
[13] See below, p. 226.
[14] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 293.
[15] See below, p. 202.
[16] Freeman, *Div. Service*, II. 352, 354.

The "Comfortable Words," therefore, which were originally a threefold formulary,[17] took the place of the benediction before reception in 1549, whether intentionally or by accident; and the revisers of 1552 removed them to the position which the other ancient benediction had occupied.

2. Sursum Corda, etc.

The call "Lift up your hearts," with its response, "We lift them up unto the Lord," is practically universal. But in most of the early liturgies, as that of St. James (both Greek and Syriac), the Alexandrine St. Mark, and the Byzantine rites, it is "Let us lift up our hearts," [18] thus corresponding with the next formula, "Let us give thanks." The occurrence of the words, "Let us lift up our heart," in Lamentations iii. 41, suggests that the formula may have been in use already in the ritual of the Jewish temple. On the other hand we find it in the second person, as in the English, in several very ancient forms, as in the Coptic, Abyssinian, Persian and Armenian liturgies,[19] and also in the Canons of Hippolytus [20] and the Sahidic Canons.[21] The testimony of the last named authorities shows that the second person is to be understood in the Clementine rite where no pronoun is expressed, the words being "Upward the mind;" [22] and from the frequent affinities between this and the Latin rite we may infer that the similarly ambiguous *Sursum Corda* is correctly rendered "Lift up your hearts." The Greek St. James, combining the usual phrase with the peculiar phrase of the Clementine, has "Let us lift up our mind and hearts." [23] There is a curious variation in the Arabic Didascalia: "Where are your hearts?" with response, "They are with the Lord." [24] The Mozarabic has *Sursum Corda* and "Let us lift them up" (*levemus*), etc.; and this rite is peculiar in prefixing to it, "Ears to the Lord," with response "We hold them (*habemus*) to the Lord"; which is doubtless to be understood with reference to the "Opening of the ears" of the catechumens when the creed was first delivered to them.[25]

The next formula, *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*,

[17] Above, p. 76.
[18] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 50, 85, 125, 321, 384.
[19] *Ibid.* 164, 228, 283, 435.
[20] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 526 (ed. I.).
[21] Brightman (as above), 463.
[22] *Ibid.* 14.
[23] *Ibid.* 50.
[24] Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, 245.
[25] Duchesne (as above), 170 *sq.*

indicates the commencement of the Thanksgiving proper. It would have been better rendered "Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God."[26] The original form was only "Let us give thanks unto the Lord," as we find it in the Apostolic Tradition,[27] the Testament of our Lord,[28] the Canons of Hippolytus,[29] the Ethiopic Church Order, the Sahidic Canons, and the Clementine liturgy,[30] and also in the Alexandrine St. Mark, and the Coptic and the Byzantine rites.[31] The words "Our God" are therefore a Latin addition. The formula is further amplified in the Mozarabic, "Unto our God and Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God who is in heaven let us render meet praises and meet thanks"; the fuller phrases being doubtless inserted as a protest against Spanish Arianism. The widest variant is the Persian form: "The offering is being offered unto God the Lord of all";[32] the "thanksgiving" being thus interpreted as "offering." Each of these rites has the usual response, "It is meet and right."

3. The Preface.

The term *Prefatio* is used in the Gregorian rites and has been adopted in the Ambrosian to designate the opening passage of the great eucharistic prayer; this being the "Preface" to the *Canon*, of which it was originally accounted a part.[33] In the Gallican rites it is commonly the *Contestatio* or *Contestata*, apparently in the sense of bearing solemn testimony to the duty of giving thanks and emphasising the previous "It is meet and right." In other Gallican rites it is *Immolatio* and in the Mozarabic *Illatio*, both implying the offering of the sacrifice and thus corresponding with the Greek *Anaphora* which begins at this point.

The opening words of the Preface come directly from the Jewish source. In the Sabbath-eve service we have the passage: "It is meet for us to praise the Lord of the universe; and we do praise, bless, and worship and give thanks":[34] and this, like the passage of the Christian liturgy, leads up to the Sanctus hymn. Similarly at the beginning of the paschal feast: "We are bound to thank, to hymn, to praise, to glorify, to extol, to worship, to bless, to magnify and to celebrate

[26] Brightman, *English Rite*, p. cv.
[27] Duchesne, 527 (ed. V.).
[28] Cooper and Maclean, 71.
[29] Duchesne, 526 (ed. I.).
[30] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 189, 463, 14.
[31] *Ibid.* 125, 164, 321.
[32] *Ibid.* 283.
[33] Above, p. 16.
[34] Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. 294.

him'': and again in a passage which precedes the blessing of the fourth cup: "for it is good to praise thee and it is meet to glorify thy name."[35] We may note also the occurrence of a similar formula in the Psalms, as for example in xcii. 1, "It is good to give thanks unto the Lord"; and in cxlvii. 1, "For it is good to sing praises unto our God; for it is pleasant and praise is comely (*or* meet)." It can hardly be doubted that what we thus find to be common both to Jewish and to Christian formularies must have had beneath it a basis in those of the temple worship.

In all the Western rites the initial phrase of the Preface takes up the words of the previous response: "It is very meet (*or* worthy) and right (*vere dignum et justum est*)"; and we have the same in the early Syrian, the Alexandrine, the Byzantine and the Armenian liturgies.[36] The Persian begins by addressing the Holy Trinity: "Worthy of praise . . . is the adorable and glorious name of thy glorious Trinity, O Father and Son and Holy Ghost, who didst create," etc.,[37] thus adapting the customary phrase to the words of Revelation iv. 11: "Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory, . . . for thou didst create," etc. The *Vere dignum* opening does not appear in the "Apostolic Tradition" nor in the Ethiopic Church Order nor in the "Testament of our Lord," all of which begin simply, "We give thanks to thee;" the two former of these having the form which the Abyssinian rite still retains and which deserves to be cited at length on account of its great antiquity. "We render thanks to thee, O God, by thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, whom in the last days thou hast sent to be the saviour and redeemer and the angel of thy counsel; who is thy inseparable word by whom thou madest all things and who is well-pleasing to thee; him hast thou sent from heaven into the bosom of the virgin, who dwelling in the womb was made flesh and shown to be thy Son born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin."[38] Here these two documents pass on at once to the commemoration of the Passion and the eucharistic institution; while the Abyssinian liturgy, like the other Egyptian rites, has added, doubtless from the Byzantine source, the commemoration of angelic worship presently to be noticed.

[35] Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*, 45, 49.

[36] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 14, 50, 85, 125, 164, 321 *sq.*, 435.

[37] *Ibid.* 283.

[38] Duchesne, 527 (ed. V.); *cf.* Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 189, 228; Cooper and Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, 71.

Meanwhile some details in the Anglican preface should be observed. The rendering of the last words of the Latin clause, *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, eterne Deus*, has unfortunately misplaced the epithets "holy" and "almighty."[39] The second clause of the Anglican preface is a free paraphrase of the clause which followed after several of the proper prefaces in the Latin rite; but in the Latin the word "therefore" relates to the subject of the proper preface preceding it, and the point of it is lost when it is used as the daily preface. The corresponding passage of the ancient daily preface served also as the concluding clause with some of the proper prefaces.

The passage in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom begins: "It is meet and right to hymn thee, to bless thee, to praise thee, to give thanks to thee, to worship thee, in every place of thy dominion": it proceeds to dwell upon the Being of God and His work in creation and redemption; and it ends: "We give thanks to thee also for this ministry which thou hast vouchsafed to receive at our hands, although there stand before thee thousands of archangels and ten thousands of angels, the cherubim and the seraphim, six-winged, many-eyed, soaring on high and flying, crying out with loud voice and saying."[40] The passage in the Greek-Syrian Liturgy of St. James is of special interest as containing the phrases which appear in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 22, 23) and were perhaps known to the writer as liturgical: "It is very meet and right . . . to praise thee, to hymn thee, . . . whom the heaven and the heaven of heavens are hymning, . . . the heavenly Jerusalem, the general assembly, the church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and spirits of just men and prophets, souls of martyrs and apostles, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities and awful powers, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim," etc. This enumeration of the nine angelic orders is found also in the Syriac version, the Clementine, the Caesarean (St. Basil) and many other Eastern liturgies, and also in the Ambrosian rite and in the Mozarabic preface for the feast of St. Clement; which is sufficient evidence that it is certainly primitive and that elsewhere it has been abbreviated. And in this connection it is interesting to notice the conclusion of the Latin preface for Trinity Sunday, "Whom angels and archangels and cherubin

[39] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. cv. See above, p. 144.

[40] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 384 *sq.*

and seraphin praise as they cease not to cry aloud with one voice saying." If this is read together with the two Latin prefaces cited above,[41] it will be found that eight of the nine orders appear, but not the "principalities."[42] It may also be noted that in the Sarum and the other English rites as well as the Gallican and Mozarabic we find the later Syro-Chaldee form of the plural *Cherubin* and *Seraphin* (which the English version of the *Te Deum* follows): whereas the Roman and the Eastern rites use the older Hebrew form *Cherubim* and *Seraphim*.

The forms of thanksgiving which introduce the Sanctus hymn in the services of the synagogue commemorate the angelic worship in terms closely parallel to those of the liturgies; telling of the angels "opening their mouths in holiness and innocence with song and psalmody, continually blessing, praising, glorifying, reverencing, hallowing and ascribing sovereignty unto the name of God, . . . all in one acclamation join and with solemn awe exclaim, Holy Holy Holy," etc.[43]

The medieval Latin rite had ten Proper Prefaces. The revisers of 1549 discontinued five, namely, those for the Epiphany, for Lent, for the festivals of the Apostles and the Evangelists, of the Holy Cross, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary. They retained in freely paraphrased forms those of Easter, the Ascension, and Trinity Sunday, while those of Christmas and Whitsunday were entirely re-written. The ancient Christmas Preface was: "Because by the mystery of the Incarnate Word the new light of thy brightness has shone upon the eyes of our mind, that while we know him as God visibly we may by him be caught up into the love of things invisible." That of Whitsunday was: "Through Christ our Lord: who ascending above all heavens and sitting at thy right hand did on this day shed forth the promised Holy Spirit upon the children of adoption: wherefore with outpoured rejoicings the whole world exulteth." The special conclusion of the Preface of Trinity Sunday has been noticed above.

The Gallican rites had their proper preface for every service. In the Mozarabic missal we find above a hundred and fifty, in the Ambrosian a hundred and seventy-one, in that of Bobbio

[41] P. 144.

[42] ἐξουσίαι. The renderings of the three terms ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις (*virtutes, principatus, potestates*) are frequently interchanged, as "principalities (or virtues), authorities, powers," or "principalities, powers, virtues."

[43] Hyam Isaacs, *Ceremonies*, etc., *of the Jews*, 190; *cf.* 213.

seventy-two.[44] Similarly the Leonine Sacramentary has about two hundred and fifty; but in the Gelasian there are only about fifty.[45] It appears that Gregory the Great finally reduced the number; and the Gregorian Sacramentary has only nine regular prefaces, besides a few others appointed for special occasions;[46] though one manuscript of it has an appendix of upwards of three hundred,[47] apparently for use in churches which were unwilling to limit themselves to the curtailed Roman number.[48]

4. The Sanctus and Benedictus.

The double hymn, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, of 1549 was a translation from the Latin except in the final words. Both portions had ended alike with *Osanna in Excelsis*, and the translators retained *Osanna* in the first place but preferred to give an English rendering of it in the second place. The word being primarily a petition, "Save now" (Psalm cxviii. 25), was understood as a salutation, calling upon a person as Saviour, and thus became an ascription of praise, as in the Apocalypse (vii. 10, etc.), "Salvation unto our God." But the translators adopted the phrase "Glory to thee," probably in view of the version in St. Luke xix. 38, where the words "Glory in the highest" correspond with the "Hosanna in the highest" of St. Matthew xxi. 9 and St. Mark xi. 10. In the Sarum Missal, while the proper prefaces were followed by the full hymn as retained in 1549, the daily preface had only the shorter form, ending with the first *Osanna in Excelsis*,[49] and this was adopted in the revision of 1552. The Latin version of 1560 restores the complete hymn, including *Benedictus qui venit* and the final *Osanna in Excelsis*.

The *Sanctus* has already been noticed as having been a feature of the liturgy from the earliest times,[50] and it is found in the great majority of rites. It is not in the "Apostolic Tradition," the Ethiopic Church Order, or the "Testament of our Lord"; hence it is obviously a later insertion in the present Ethiopic and presumably in the other African liturgies.[51] At first it appears as a clause in the preface said by the priest

[44] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 539.
[45] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 293 *sqq.*, 494 *sqq.*
[46] *Ibid.* II. 8–131; 189–244.
[47] *Ibid.* 273 *sqq.*
[48] Scudamore, as above.
[49] *Missale ad Usum Sarum*, ed. Burntisland, 609, 610.
[50] P. 14.
[51] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 132, 176, 231.

alone. We find it thus in one early Alexandrine rite [52] and in the book of Sarapion.[53] St. Cyril of Jerusalem also mentions the subjects of the preface, including the Sanctus, with no hint that it is anything more than a clause in the priest's words.[54]

On the other hand in the services of the synagogue, where it is said in Isaiah's form,[55] the congregation is directed to join in it; and the words of St. Clement's epistle seem to imply that the people joined in it in his day; for after alluding to it as sung by the angels he adds: "Yea, and let us ourselves then, being gathered together in concord with intentness of heart, cry aloud to Him as from one mouth earnestly." [56] The Clementine Liturgy shows that at Antioch it was said by the people in the fourth century; [57] and it is so in the Greek St. Mark and in the present Coptic and Ethiopic rites,[58] while the liturgies generally give the direction to the people or to the choir.[59] The *Liber Pontificalis* of the sixth century states that the custom was definitely ordered by Pope Sixtus I. (A.D. 119–128).[60] It appears therefore that this hymn usually formed part of the primitive eucharistic prayer, that it was handed down in almost all the fixed liturgies, and that the custom of the choir or the people joining in it was very general but not universal. In the old English rites it was of course sung only by the choir; and accordingly the rubric of 1549 directs "the clerks" to sing it. The *Lay Folks' Mass Book* [61] in the twelfth century instructs the people to give thanks privately when they hear the concluding words, *In excelsis*.

In the hymn the Hebrew *Sabaoth* (rendered in 1549 "of Hosts") is almost universally retained in the liturgies, whether Greek, Syriac, or Latin, as also in St. Clement's Epistle. Only the Nestorian rites [62] follow the rendering "Almighty" which we have in the Apocalypse (iv. 8). But instead of "All the earth is full of thy glory," the Epistle of St. Clement has "All the creation," etc.; and the liturgies generally, both Eastern and Western, have "the heaven and the earth are full," etc.

[52] Woolley, *Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, 120.
[53] Ed. Wordsworth, 61.
[54] Above, p. 24.
[55] Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. 295.
[56] *Clem. Rom.* Ep. I. xxxiv.
[57] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 18.
[58] *Ibid.* 132, 176, 231.
[59] *Ibid.* 50, 86, 284, 323, 385, 403, 436.
[60] *Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I. 128
[61] Ed. Simmons, 28 *sq.*
[62] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, II. 584, 612, 622.

The Syriac St. James amplifies this: "full of the glory and honour of thy majesty"[63] (which recalls the phrase of the *Te Deum*), and the Persian enlarges it still more.[64]

The *Benedictus*, "Blessed is he that cometh," etc., is added to the *Sanctus* in 1549 as in the Latin rites. The *Peregrinatio* of Etheria in the fourth century, describing the services of Palm Sunday at Jerusalem, mentions the *Benedictus* (but without the *Hosannas*) as sung in the procession as if it were a salutation to the bishop.[65] There are instances of a similar use of it as a salutation to emperors in the eighth and ninth centuries.[66] But it is also found as a liturgical salutation in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom at the Lesser Entrance;[67] and in the same liturgy,[68] as also in the Coptic and Armenian,[69] it is said when the eucharistic gifts are brought forward for the communion of the people, where it might be understood as addressed either to the celebrant or to our Lord as represented by the gifts. It is therefore very probable that the use of it as a liturgical hymn began in this way.

That use of it, appended to the *Sanctus* as in the Latin rites, is found also in the liturgy of St. James, both Greek and Syriac, in the Byzantine and in the Armenian.[70] In the Persian[71] it is amplified; and both this and the Mozarabic insert "Hosanna to the Son of David" from St. Matthew xxi. 9. But the *Benedictus* does not appear with the *Sanctus* in the Egyptian rites;[72] and the absence of any mention of it in the Catecheses of St. Cyril, where he dwells very fully on the *Sanctus*,[73] shows plainly that the *Benedictus* was unknown to him in this position; hence it must be regarded as one of the Byzantine accretions to the liturgy of Jerusalem. Nor does the Clementine liturgy add it here, though it appends to the *Sanctus* the words "Blessed unto the ages";[74] but this liturgy inserts the *Benedictus* afterwards, with the *Hosanna* preceding and following, as an addition to the hymn of the elevation after the consecration.[75] It is remarkable also that the Mozarabic rite has the opening words of the *Sanctus* repeated at the close

[63] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 86.
[64] *Ibid.* 284; but not so in Renaudot, II. 584.
[65] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 505.
[66] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 93.
[67] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 368.
[68] *Ibid.* 396.
[69] *Ibid.* 186, 432.
[70] *Ibid.* 51, 86, 324, 385, 436.
[71] *Ibid.* 284.
[72] *Ibid.* 132, 176, 231.
[73] *Cat. Mystag.* v. 6. Above, p. 24.
[74] Brightman, as above, 19.
[75] *Ibid.* 24.

of the hymn in Greek, "Holy holy holy Lord God" (*Agyos agyos agyos Kyrie o Theos*), which suggests the probability that this was the original hymn and that the fuller form was a later accretion. It has already been noticed that the Sarum daily preface has the *Sanctus* with only the *Osanna* appended. Similarly the first Roman Order mentions only "the angelic hymn, that is, *Sanctus*"; and the Ordo of St. Amand agrees with it:[76] nor does the *Benedictus* occur in the Vatican manuscript of the Gregorian Sacramentary nor in the *Missale Francorum*,[77] though it is in the Gelasian canon and in one important manuscript of the Gregorian.[78] We must therefore conclude that the *Hosanna* and *Benedictus* were added to the *Sanctus* in the Church of Constantinople and those that were under its influence, whence it became adopted eventually in the Latin rite.

5. The Beginning of the Consecration Prayer.

The primitive liturgical order, in which the eucharistic preface with its hymn passes on directly to the Thanksgiving proper, is completely interrupted in the book of 1549 by the intrusion of the intercession, as it had been previously in the Latin rite. The revisers of 1552 in removing the intercession to the offertory made a similar though less violent interruption here by intruding the Prayer of Humble Access, which according to ancient usage should immediately precede the communion. There was, however, a certain precedent for this in the Latin rite; for it had long been a frequent custom for the priest to insert privately a prayer of similar character at this point,[79] and the Hereford missal provides one: "We adore thee, O Christ, and we bless thee because by thy holy cross thou hast redeemed the world: have mercy upon us, thou who hast suffered for us." This is inserted between the *Sanctus* and the beginning of the consecration prayer; but it differs from our Prayer of Humble Access in being merely a private prayer of the priest; whereas ours is an integral part of the service, placed in a position where it breaks the sequence, and removed from the position where the general consent of liturgies demands that such a prayer should be inserted.

Before proceeding to trace the form in which the consecration

[76] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 90, 138, 158.
[77] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, II. 2, 692.
[78] *Ibid.* I. 695; II. 1.
[79] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 535.

prayer opens in the earlier liturgies it will be well to examine more fully the passage which begins the Canon of the Mass in the Gregorian rites and the Ambrosian. It has been already observed[80] that this corresponds with the prayers which accompany the reading of the diptychs in the Gallican rites. The first clause, "Thee therefore most merciful Father," etc., praying for the acceptance of the offerings and passing on into a general intercession for the church and a special prayer for those who are now offering, represents the prayer *Ante nomina*; and the next clause, "Being in the communion and reverencing," etc., in commemoration of the saints, represents the *Post nomina*; and they have evidently been taken from their original place in the liturgy and set here in the beginning of the canon. This is borne out by the fact that the grammatical construction of these clauses as they stand is hopelessly disconnected. In the first the opening "therefore" relates to nothing which has preceded it, and the form of the prayer for those who are present and those who offer is awkwardly confused and involved. The other clause opens with the participles "Being in the communion and reverencing," which have no connection with any substantive noun expressed or implied, and for which the meaning must be sought by joining them with the first portion of the passage and passing over what intervenes ("Remember O Lord," etc.) as an interpolation. The former of these words (*communicantes*) appears to be introduced from a varied reading of St. Paul's words "communicating to the *memories* (for *necessities*) of the saints."[81] But its connection with the next words of the canon is entirely lost on certain days; for an ancient variable passage, first appearing in the Gelasian Sacramentary, introduces the special subject of the day on Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost.[82] On these occasions the clause begins: "Being in the communion and celebrating the most sacred day"; as on the Epiphany cited above;[83] or, to take another example: "Of Pentecost when the Holy Spirit appeared in fiery tongues to the Apostles; and moreover reverencing the memory," etc.

The saints commemorated in this passage of the canon are twelve apostles (including St. Paul but not St. Matthias), and

[80] P. 137.
[81] Rom. xii. 13.
[82] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 496, 503, 553, 572, 588, 601.
[83] P. 145.

twelve martyrs well known in Rome, five of them being early bishops there, then the African bishop St. Cyprian and the Roman deacon St. Laurence, and five Roman laymen.[84]

In comparing with this passage the form in which it was recast in 1549 it may be noted that previously the priest had said this and the remainder of the canon in silence, only raising his voice and singing the final words, "World without end. Amen" (*per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen*); but now he is directed to "say or sing plainly and distinctly this prayer following."

The opening clause of the English prayer, referring to 1 Timothy ii. 1, is independent of the Latin rite. The words of St. Paul, "that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings be made for all men," are very inadequately represented by the rendering "to make prayers and supplications and to give thanks for all men," where the true force of the "thanksgivings" is obscured. In the next clause the Latin is represented in the words "We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive"; but the mention of "these our prayers" is substituted for "these gifts," etc., until in 1661 the sense of the Latin is restored in the mention of "our alms and oblations." The Latin is represented in the prayer for "the universal church" and its "unity and concord"; but in place of the petition that God will "guard" and "govern" it we have the prayer that He will inspire it with the spirit of truth. The mention of the pope being omitted, the prayer for the king is set next, and further phrases are added from the same passage of St. Paul (1 Timothy ii. 2): "And all that are in authority," and "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness." The prayer for the bishop stands next, and is enlarged to include "all bishops, pastors and curates," with a petition that they may teach the truth and minister rightly, followed by a petition that the people may hear and receive God's Word, in which are incorporated the words of the Benedictus canticle (St. Luke i. 74 *sq.*), that we may "serve [God] . . . in holiness and righteousness . . . all the days of our life." A further addition is the prayer for those who are in trouble, etc. Then the passage of the Latin canon is taken up again at the prayer for "all here present" and "those who are offering this sacrifice of praise to thee," which is reproduced in the English rite in the prayer for "this congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate

[84] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 331.

the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy son." The passage commemorating the saints follows both in the Latin and in 1549; but instead of the phrase "reverencing the memory of . . . all thy saints" the revisers substituted "We do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints." Both alike commemorate "chiefly the glorious . . . virgin Mary mother of . . . Jesus Christ our Lord and God," and also the "Apostles and Martyrs": but here the book of 1549 inserts a passage from the Greek liturgy of St. Basil commemorating "saints from the beginning of the world" and mentioning particularly patriarchs and prophets.

It may be noted that the saints whose names are included in this second commemoration in the Latin rite are again all martyrs. They are St. John Baptist and St. Stephen, as the first martyrs; St. Matthias and St. Barnabas, the two apostles who were not named in the former list; St. Ignatius of Antioch and Pope Alexander I., who suffered respectively in the years 107 and 119; then Marcellinus and Peter, two of the victims of Diocletian's persecution; and lastly, five women martyred in the same or in earlier persecutions, all of them being saints whose memory was popular in Rome. No name in either list is of later date than the persecution under Diocletian which ended in 305.

The prayer for the faithful departed follows next in 1549; but this is derived from a later passage which stands at the close of the Latin canon and will demand further notice there. It is a free rendering of the Latin prayer for those "who have gone before us with the sign of faith and are resting in the sleep of peace," that God will "grant them a place of refreshment, light and peace." The final clause in 1549 is also an adaptation of passages occurring elsewhere in the Sarum missal. In the collect for a "mass of the five wounds" we have, "That in the day of judgment we may be set at thy right hand and may be made meet to hear from thee that most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed, into the kingdom of my Father"; and the text of St. Matthew xxv. 34 is not from the Vulgate but from the Communion Anthem of feasts of martyrs, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." [85]

We have seen already that in the "Apostolic Tradition" and

[85] *Miss. Sar.*, ed. Burntisland, 699,* 751. See Brightman, *The English Rite*, pp. cvi. 690.

other early forms the sequence is not broken by the *Sanctus* hymn, which in some cases is not said, while in others it only stands as a clause in the priest's prayer; and therefore the usual distinction between the preface and the consecration prayer does not appear, but the prayer is continuous from the first clause of the thanksgiving to the act of consecration.

But we have next to inquire what was the beginning of the Latin canon before its present opening clauses were transplanted to this position. There is abundant evidence that it had the eucharistic form, such as we find generally in other liturgies, leading up from the *Sanctus* to the recital of the institution. The passage is known as the *Post-sanctus* in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, where we find numberless variations of it, but the normal form resumes the words of the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*: "Very holy, very blessed (*Vere sanctus, vere benedictus*), is our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who," etc.[86] The Ambrosian rite has adopted the Roman canon, but it retains this Gallican form in a special clause on Easter Eve. Similarly in the Stowe Missal the clause survives in a mass for feasts of Apostles and Martyrs.[87] It occurs also in at least one early Roman missal, and in other strictly Roman forms, as in the consecration of the font and the blessing of the water on the eve of the Epiphany, which are modelled on the eucharistic canon.[88] Hence it is plain that in early times the Roman rite had its Post-sanctus in this form. It is probable that the brief variable passage noticed above as introduced on certain days into the clause commemorating the saints, and first appearing in the Gelasian canon, is a survival of the variable clause in this Post-sanctus, thrust somewhat rudely into its present position when the passage to which it belonged was set aside.

In the Eastern rites, as in the Western, this passage follows up the *Sanctus* hymn, but not the *Benedictus* with it. Thus the early Syrian and the Persian rites proceed from the threefold *Sanctus*, applying it to the three Persons of the Godhead, and the Byzantine and Armenian rites are similar: for example, the Greek St. James begins: "Holy art thou, king of the ages, . . . holy is thy only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . holy is thy all-holy Spirit."[89] The Egyptian rites take

[86] *Missale Mozar.* Dom. I. Adventus, etc.; *Missale Gothicum* in Forbes' *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 39.

[87] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 246.

[88] Wyatt, *The Eucharistic Prayer*, 20–24.

[89] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 51; *cf.* 19, 86, 284, 324, 385, 403, 436.

up the other clause of the hymn: "Verily the heaven and the earth are full of thy glory."[90] From this beginning they all develope into a thanksgiving for the Incarnation and so pass on to the recital of the Institution.

This clause in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, as now used in the Eastern Church, has points of similarity to our English form: "With these the blessed powers we also, O Lord the lover of men, cry aloud and say, Holy art thou and all-holy, and thy only-begotten Son and thy Holy Spirit; holy art thou and all-holy and great is the majesty of thy glory, who didst so love the world as to give thy only begotten Son that whoso believeth in him should not perish but have eternal life; who having come and having fulfilled all the dispensation for us, in the night that he was betrayed," etc.[91] This passage, commemorating the love of God who gave His only-begotten Son and the coming of Christ who "fulfilled all the dispensation for us," may have been before the English revisers when they compiled their form: "O God . . . which of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son to suffer death, . . . who made . . . a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice . . . and did institute . . . a perpetual memory," etc.

Before leaving this opening passage of the Consecration-prayer, we may notice again the words with which the Latin canon opens, praying that God will "accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy unblemished sacrifices." This clause may perhaps have suggested the substitution of the passage which the English revisers compiled, embodying a full exposition of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice. The new clause would have been quite in harmony with ancient usage if it had been cast in a eucharistic form; and such a form has since been given to it in the Scottish and American rites, where the prayer begins: "All glory be to thee, Almighty God our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son," etc.

We come next to the section of the Latin canon which begins: "Therefore this oblation of the service of us and of thy whole family." A variable passage follows on Maundy Thursday and at Easter and Pentecost. Then it proceeds: "We beseech thee, O Lord, favourably to accept," etc. It is recorded by Venerable Bede[92] that St. Gregory the Great

[90] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 132, 176, 232.

[91] *Ibid.* 385.

[92] *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1.

added the next words: "and dispose our days in thy peace and bid us to be rescued from eternal damnation and numbered in the flock of thine elect." Then follows the clause, "Which oblation," etc. It appears therefore that before the time of St. Gregory the two passages, beginning respectively "this oblation" and "which oblation," had been but one passage[93]: "Therefore this oblation of the service of us and of thy whole family . . . O God Almighty, in all things, we beseech thee, vouchsafe to make blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ; who on the day before he suffered took bread," etc. And this agrees with the ancient form of the clause given in the *De Sacramentis*: "Make to us this oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, in that it is a figure (*quod figura est*) of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, who on the day before he suffered took bread," etc. The revisers of 1549 altered it into the prayer: "With thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son Jesus Christ; who in the same night that he was betrayed took bread," etc. It will be necessary to examine this passage more fully when we come to the place where the Invocation of the Holy Ghost stands in the ancient rites.

6. The Recital of the Institution.

The English rendering of the Recital of the Institution simplified it by omitting certain details which are found in the Latin missal and bringing it into closer conformity with the four scriptural accounts. The Latin form had obviously been amplified by repeating both for the bread and for the cup details which the scriptural accounts give only in one case or the other. Thus it agrees with the majority of liturgies in combining in both clauses the two phrases "gave thanks" and "blessed," which the scriptural accounts use indiscriminately but never combine.[94] Similarly the phrases "Take eat" and "drink ye all of this" are developed in the missal to make a corresponding formula in each clause: "Take and eat ye all of it"; "Take and drink ye all of it": but this (which is

[93] Brightman, *The English Rite*, p. cvi. *sq.*

[94] See above, p. 6.

found as early as the treatise *De Sacramentis*, c. 400),[95] is peculiar to the Latin canon. At the close the Latin canon has the words " for remission of sins," as in St. Matthew and in the majority of liturgies. Finally it has in a slightly varied form St. Paul's " Do this as often," etc., as in most liturgies but not in that of St. Chrysostom nor in the Armenian.

On the other hand there are several details in which the account in the missal differs from the scriptural accounts. Thus we have " On the day before he suffered " (*pridie quam pateretur*), which appears also in the *De Sacramentis* and in the Ambrosian rite. This was formerly in the Mozarabic also, for it still designates the next prayer *post pridie*; but the Mozarabic, like the Anglican, has now St. Paul's form, " In the night in which he was betrayed " (*in qua nocte tradebatur*); and this is the general form in the Eastern liturgies. The words " into his holy hands " do not appear in the Ambrosian or the Mozarabic, but they are in the *De Sacramentis* and in the Eastern liturgies. The mention of " His eyes lifted up to heaven," as in St. John xvii. 1, occurs in the early Syrian and the Egyptian rites,[96] as well as in the *De Sacramentis* and the Ambrosian, both of which also repeat it in the clause relating to the cup; but it does not occur in the " Apostolic Tradition " and other early Church Orders; nor is it in the Syriac St. James, nor in the Byzantine and Armenian rites, nor in the Mozarabic. It appears therefore to have originated in the Clementine rite, whence one and another inserted it.

The words of our Lord in relation to the cup are obviously those of Moses, " This is the blood of the covenant," [97] with the addition of the pronoun "my." It must be remembered that the word "covenant," as in the scriptural accounts and in the Greek liturgies, is represented in the Latin by *testamentum*, which accordingly the English liturgy follows. St. Mark (xiv. 24) followed by St. Matthew (xxvi. 28) gives the words, "That is my blood of the covenant"; while St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 25) and St. Luke (xxii. 20) have, " This cup is the new covenant in my blood." The Evangelists add, " which is being shed (or *poured out*) for many," or (in St. Luke) " for you." The missal combines these, " for you and for many," which the English book has retained; but the missal

[95] iv. 5, 21, 22 (*Patr. Lat.* xvi. 444).

[96] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 20, 51, 132, 176, 232.

[97] Exod. xxiv. 8; Heb. ix. 20.

mistakes the meaning when it changes the present tense to the future, "shall be shed" (*effundetur*). The "Apostolic Tradition" has rightly "is shed" (*effunditur*), but it has the mistake in relation to the bread, "My body which shall be broken (*confringetur*) for you";[98] and similarly the Mozarabic, "My body which shall be delivered up (*tradetur*) for you," and of the cup, "Which shall be shed (*effundetur*)." The Roman, in common with all liturgies, inserts the word "new" before "covenant," as in St. Paul and St. Luke; but it is peculiar in inserting "eternal," as in Hebrews xiii. 20, "Blood of an eternal covenant." The Mozarabic has, "This is the cup of the new Testament in my blood," etc. And further, the Gregorian canon calls the cup (not the blood) "the mystery of the faith" (*calix . . . mysterium fidei*). This is the remarkable phrase used by St. Paul in 1 Timothy iii. 9, where the special duty assigned to deacons is "Holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience." Can it be that when St. Paul wrote to St. Timothy this phrase already had a recognised meaning in connection with the cup and that the deacon's duty of administering it was in his mind? The parallel with the previous verse deserves notice: "not given to much wine," but "holding the mystery of the faith"; and "not greedy of gain," but "in a pure conscience." Probably the closest liturgical parallel to the phrase of the Latin canon is that of the Clementine liturgy relating to the bread: "He gave it to the disciples saying, This [is] the mystery of the new covenant; take of it, eat; this is my body," *etc.*[99]

The Cæsarean liturgy (St. Basil) adds that our Lord took the cup "having mixed it";[1] and the Clementine liturgy has more explicitly "mixed it with wine and water,"[2] which is followed in the other early Syrian rites and in the Alexandrine and the Coptic;[3] but it does not appear in the early Church Orders nor in the Ethiopic liturgy nor in that of St. Chrysostom nor in the Armenian. Two of these rites, the Greek St. James and the Coptic, add also "He filled it with the Holy Ghost,"[4] and the Armenian adds "He drank."[5]

Some liturgies append the further clause of St. Paul's words: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup ye

[98] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 527 (ed. V.).
[99] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 20.
[1] *Ibid.* 328.
[2] *Ibid.* 28.
[3] *Ibid.* 52, 87, 133, 177.
[4] *Ibid.* 52, 133.
[5] *Ibid.* 437.

proclaim the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. xi. 26). The Clementine liturgy takes this as spoken by our Lord himself, altering the final words: "ye proclaim my death till I come."[6] The Syriac version of St. James' liturgy follows this, inserting also the words: "And confess my resurrection"; and the same form with the same insertion is in the Cæsarean St. Basil.[7] The Egyptian rites also have the clause, including the mention of the resurrection, to which the Greek St. Mark adds "and ascension."[8] But the "Apostolic Tradition" combines the opening words of this clause with the words recorded of our Lord: "When ye do this ye do (make) the memorial of me" (*quando hoc facitis meam commemorationem facitis*);[9] and this is followed in the Ethiopic Church Order and the present Ethiopic liturgy,[10] and also in the Coptic, though in this last case it is amplified from the fuller Syrian and Byzantine form.[11] The form in the "Testament of our Lord" is remarkable: "When ye shall do (*or* offer) this ye shall make (*or* offer) my resurrection,"[12] obviously meaning "the memorial of my resurrection." The Greek St. James preserves the complete clause but keeps the third person and reads, "Ye proclaim the death of the Son of Man and confess his resurrection till he come."[13]

In the West we find the clause in the Gallican rites. A varied and expanded form of it is common to the Ambrosian rite and the Irish Stowe Missal,[14] expressed in the first person: "These things as often as ye shall do, ye shall do in remembrance of me; ye shall proclaim my death, ye shall announce my resurrection, ye shall hope for my advent, till I come to you again from heaven." The Ambrosian is emphatic in giving this as part of what our Lord had said, prefixing to the clause the words, "commanding also and saying to them"; and the passage appears in the ancient form of the canon used on Maundy Thursday and is retained in the ordinary form. The Mozarabic has reverted to St. Paul's form, which it gives without change except that it has the Gallican addition at the close: "in glory from heaven."

On the other hand the clause added by St. Paul is not in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom nor in the Armenian; whence we may

[6] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 20.
[7] *Ibid.* 87, 328.
[8] *Ibid.* 133.
[9] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 528 (ed. V.).
[10] Brightman (as above), 190, 232
[11] *Ibid.* 177.
[12] Ed. Cooper and Maclean, 73.
[13] Brightman (as above), 52.
[14] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 237.

infer that the Byzantine rite, if it ever contained it, must have lost it before the year 300. But its absence from the Apostolic Tradition, and from the Gelasian Sacramentary,[15] as well as from the Gregorian rites, suggests the probability that it never was found in the Roman liturgy. Its absence from the canon given in the *De Sacramentis* can hardly be taken as evidence, because this is singular in ending abruptly with the words "This is my blood," and thus appears to be incomplete.

It is possible that the Syrian, Egyptian and Gallican liturgies have preserved a true tradition that the words were spoken by our Lord; in which case St. Paul, instead of stating them thus, adapts them to carry on his exhortation to the Corinthians. On the other hand it may be that early compilers of liturgies, reading the ambiguous form in which St. Paul gives the clause, took it to be part of our Lord's Words and varied it to make the meaning clearer. Both views have been urged by modern writers, but the question needs further evidence for its solution.

7. The Memorial Oblation.

In the passage in which the "remembrance" of the sacrifice of Christ is offered, following upon the recital of the institution, the translators of 1549 freely paraphrased the corresponding passage of the Latin canon, expressing its general meaning and to a great extent translating its actual words; but they failed to bring out the immediate connection with the preceding words, "Do this in remembrance of me," as distinctly as it appears in the Latin (. . . *in mei memoriam facietis: unde et memores*, etc.).

There are merely verbal differences in the early form of the canon given in *De Sacramentis*, and the substance of the passage is found more or less fully in all the Eastern liturgies. The "Apostolic Tradition" has it in a brief form: "Remembering therefore his death and his resurrection we offer to thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee that thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and minister unto thee."[16] This, which is retained in the Ethiopic rite,[17] appears with a few words added in the "Testament of our Lord,"[18] and with further expansion in the Clementine.[19] The Coptic

[15] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 697.
[16] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 528 (ed. V.).
[17] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 233; *cf.* 199.
[18] Ed. Cooper and Maclean, 73.
[19] Brightman (as above). 20 *sq.*

gives the same phrase as the Latin: "Before thy holy glory we have set thine own gift of thine own";[20] which appears also in the Alexandrine St. Mark and in the Byzantine and Armenian rites.[21] In the liturgy of St. James, both Greek and Syriac, and in that of St. Chrysostom,[22] we have the equivalent of the next phrase in the Latin: "We offer to thee this fearful (*or* this reasonable) and unbloody Sacrifice"; the "spotless" (*immaculatam*) of the Latin representing the "unbloody" of the Eastern rites.

To illustrate yet more fully the universality of this clause, two instances should be noted in which it deviates widely from the normal type. In the book of Sarapion the prayer has much in common with the form already cited from the Apostolic Tradition, but it is broken up and interspersed with the recital of the institution, and its repetitions and confusions compel us to regard it as fanciful and anomalous. It will be convenient to give it in full with a view to future reference: "Lord of hosts, fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation, for to thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation. To thee have we offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to his disciples saying, Take ye and eat, this is my body which is being broken for you for remission of sins. Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and beseech thee through this sacrifice, be reconciled to all of us and be merciful, O God of truth: and as this bread had been scattered on the top of the mountains and gathered together came to be one, so also gather thy holy church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house and make one living catholic church. We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper, said to his own disciples, Take ye, drink, this is the new covenant, which [cup] is my blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins. Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the blood."[23] The compiler of this passage has confused it the more by inserting in the middle of it the intercessory clause

[20] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 178.
[21] *Ibid.* 133, 329, 438.
[22] *Ibid.* 53, 87, 329.
[23] Sarapion, ed. Wordsworth, 62 *sq.*

for the unity of the church taken from the eucharistic passage of the Didache.[24]

It is curious that in the Persian liturgy, which has no recital of the institution, we have the terms of this memorial oblation converted into a commemoration of the departed and a prayer for peace: "Do thou, O my Lord, in thy many and unspeakable mercies, make a good and acceptable memorial for all the just and righteous fathers who have been wellpleasing in thy sight, in the commemoration of the body and blood of thy Christ which we offer unto thee on thy pure and holy altar as thou hast taught us, and grant us thy tranquillity and thy peace all the days of the world."[25]

We have to notice also that in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom this clause opens with the words, "Wherefore having in remembrance his saving commandment."[26] It is therefore not unlikely that this suggested to the English revisers the phrase, "According to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son," etc.

The variable clause of the Gallican rites survives in the Mozarabic (*Post-pridie*). This is infinitely varied, and in many cases it has lost all trace of the point which appears in the fixed rites of Rome and of the East; but a sufficient number remains to show that the original purpose of the clause was the same as in those rites. Thus we have the *Post-pridie* for the Fourth Sunday in Advent: "We make, O Lord, commemoration of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ; that coming to us he took the human form; that for the redemption of mankind whom he had created he suffered the suffering of the cross; that to conquer and tread under foot the death due to us he himself of his own will accepted the death undue to him; that he spoiled hell in part, leaving the ungodly, and in his resurrection lifting up the holy who were held there to be in heavenly places with himself; that returning to heaven he opened a way for us whereby we may ascend into heaven; that he shall come again to judgment of quick and dead to condemn the wicked and the sinners in eternal punishment and to bestow upon the faithful who keep his commandments the glory of his own eternity." A briefer example is that of the Fifth Sunday in Lent: "Having recited, O Lord, the precepts of the Sacraments of thy Only begotten, and likewise making remembrance of his glorious passion and resurrection and ascension into

[24] P. 17.
[25] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies* 286 *sq.*
[26] *Ibid.* 386.

heaven, we thy suppliants pray and beseech thy majesty," etc.

In other Gallican rites the passage is known as the *Post Mysterium* or *Post Secreta*.[27]

The Ambrosian rite retains the ancient passage of Maundy Thursday, which in the oldest copies follows immediately after the recital of the institution on that day, but in the present rite the latter clauses of the Roman Canon have been prefixed to it. It opens thus: "These things we do, these we celebrate, observing thy precepts, O Lord; and for a worthy (*inviolabilem*) communion in that we receive the body of the Lord we proclaim the Lord's death."[28]

The service of 1549 proceeds: "Entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," etc. This represents the next clause of the Latin canon, following upon the oblation of "the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation"; where it continues with the prayer (*supra quae*) that God will "look with favourable and gracious countenance" upon them, and then proceeds, "Accept them even as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham and that which thy high priest Melchisedech offered to thee." At this point St. Leo in 451 inserted the words "A holy offering, a spotless sacrifice," perhaps as a protest against the Manichæans who refused to use wine in the liturgy.[29] The next clause of the canon, commencing "we thy suppliants," demands special notice: "Command these [offerings] to be brought up by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high before the sight of thy divine majesty, that as many of us as from this participation of the altar shall receive the most sacred body and blood of thy Son may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace."

These clauses are practically unique at this point. The prayer that God will "look with favourable and gracious countenance upon" the offerings originates in the Clementine liturgy: "We beseech thee that thou wouldest look graciously upon these gifts now lying before thee and show favour upon them to the honour of thy Christ":[30] but it is not found

[27] Neale and Forbes, *Gallic. Lit.* 4, 11, 33, etc.

[28] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 134. *Cf.* Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 218.

[29] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 176.

[30] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 21.

elsewhere. The prayer that God will accept the offerings probably has no parallel here except it be in a private prayer of the priest in the Persian rite: "O Lord God of hosts, accept this offering for all the holy catholic church," etc.[31] We may conclude without hesitation that this belongs originally to an offertory prayer; and for this there is abundant evidence. In the treatise *De Sacramentis* we have the same prayer that God will accept these offerings as He accepted the gifts of Abel, etc., and that they may be carried by the hands of the angels to the altar on high, but the two petitions are in the reverse order and the prayer is that God will "accept this oblation" (*hanc oblationem*),[32] connecting it the more distinctly with the offertory. And the same prayer also, with its petitions in this order (though without the mention of Melchisedech) occurs as a prayer for the offerers after the reading of the diptychs in the Alexandrine St. Mark and in the Coptic.[33] Again, the prayer that the sacrifice may be accepted as those of Abel and Abraham appears as an offertory-prayer in the office of the prothesis in the Ethiopic rite,[34] and it has been adapted as a "prayer of the incense" in the Greek St. James[35] and the Armenian.[36] It stands also in an extended form as an offertory-prayer in the liturgy of St. Basil, whence it is again inserted in the Greek St. James,[37] and there is an abbreviated form of it at the Offertory in the Ethiopic rite.[38] We have it also as the *Oratio super oblatam* for the tenth Sunday after Pentecost in the Ambrosian rite. All this leaves no doubt that these anomalous clauses in the Latin canon had belonged originally to offertory-prayers. The revisers of 1549, not having full knowledge of the facts, retained the clauses with the exception of the petition that this sacrifice might be accepted like the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedech, the unfitness of which at this point of the liturgy has been pointed out by several writers.

After the petition for the acceptance of "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" the revisers in 1549 inserted some new clauses not derived from the Latin canon, namely the petition for obtaining the benefits of Christ's Passion and the offering of ourselves. In the next petition, "that whosoever

[31] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 285.
[32] *De Sacr.* IV. 6. 27 (*Patr. Lat.* xvi. 444).
[33] Brightman, as above, 129, 171.
[34] *Ibid.* 199.
[35] *Ibid.* 32, 41.
[36] *Ibid.* 420.
[37] *Ibid.* 48, 401.
[38] *Ibid.* 216.

shall be partakers of this holy communion may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction," we have a reproduction of the final clause of this passage in the Latin; but it is enlarged, perhaps from the clause which introduces the Lord's Prayer in the Greek liturgy of St. Basil: "that receiving the portion of thy hallowed things we may be made one with the holy body and blood of thy Christ, and receiving them worthily may have Christ dwelling in our hearts."[39] Lastly, repeating the petition for the acceptance of the sacrifice and extending it to include all "our bounden duty and service," the revisers preserved the previous clause of the Latin canon; except that instead of the words, "Command these [offerings] to be brought up by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high before the sight of thy divine majesty," they wrote, "Command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of thy holy angels to be brought up into thy holy tabernacle before the sight of thy divine majesty." In the change of "thy holy angel" into the plural the revisers are reverting to the older form which we find in *De Sacramentis*[40] and in the Gelasian Sacramentary.[41] It is the same in the Ethiopic liturgy;[42] and in the Greek St. Mark it is "by thine archangelic ministry."[43] The phrase "to thine altar on high," or "in heaven," is in all these authorities; and the change to "thy holy tabernacle" is immaterial.

The clauses following this passage in the Latin canon are the intercession for the departed and the second commemoration of the saints, which will be examined in due course.[44] The canon proceeded: "Into whose company we beseech thee to admit us, not weighing our merit but bestowing pardon through Christ our Lord"; and this the revisers adapted as an extension of their prayer for acceptance. The final clause will be noted hereafter.

8. The Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

At this point, immediately following the memorial oblation, all the Eastern liturgies have the solemn *Epiclesis*, or Invocation of the Holy Ghost, of which there are also frequent

[39] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 410; *The English Rite*, 694.
[40] iv. 6, 27, as above, p. 32.
[41] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 697.
[42] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 171.
[43] *Ibid.* 129.
[44] P. 185.

survivals in the Gallican rites, whereas the Gregorian has only obscure traces of it, and these in an earlier position before the recital of the institution. In that position the English revisers of 1549 restored it.

The "Apostolic Tradition" has a simple form of it: "And we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of the holy church, gathering it together into one: give to all those who partake sanctification unto fulfilling with the Holy Spirit for confirmation of the faith in truth, that we may praise thee and glorify thee through thy Son Jesus Christ."[45] The clause is preserved with little alteration in the "Testament of our Lord." The Persian rite also has an invocation of the same character.[46] In these cases it is simply a prayer that the Holy Spirit may be sent upon the oblation so that it may be for the sanctification of those who partake of it.

A more developed form is found in the Clementine and the Syrian liturgies of St. James, and also in the African, the Byzantine and the Armenian rites. It is amplified more or less in each of them; but the groundwork which is common to all may be stated thus: "We beseech thee send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts lying before thee and make this bread the body of thy Christ and this cup the blood of thy Christ that to those who receive them they may be for remission of sins."[47] The present Ethiopic rite has prefixed this to the simpler form which it still preserves from the "Apostolic Tradition."[48] It is probable that the fuller form originated as a protest against the heresy of the followers of Macedonius[49] who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit and were condemned by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

There is evidence that the Roman canon had a definite Epiclesis in the fifth century; for a letter of Pope Gelasius (492–496) to the bishop of Volaterra asks: "How shall the heavenly Spirit being invoked come to the consecration of the divine mystery if the priest who prays him to be present is full of evil deeds and reprobate?" and again he speaks of the

[45] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 528 (ed. V.). After *des omnibus qui percipiunt* the word *sanctis* appears to represent *sanctificationem*; *cf.* the Ethiopic in Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 190. But perhaps the *Testament* preserves the true reading, "who partake of *the Holy Things*" (Cooper and Maclean, 75).

[46] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 287.

[47] *Ibid.* 21, 54, 88, 134, 179, 439.

[48] *Ibid.* 233.

[49] Cooper and Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, 176.

bread "passing into a divine substance, the Holy Spirit working thus." [50]

It frequently survives in the variable clause of the Gallican rites. A good example is in the Mozarabic *Post-pridie* of the fifth Sunday in Lent, of which the first clause has been cited already.[51] It proceeds thus: "That in these sacrifices the fulness of thy blessings may descend and thou mayest pour upon them the rain of thy Holy Spirit from heaven, that this sacrifice may become according to the order of Melchisedech, this sacrifice may become according to the order of patriarchs and prophets; that as thy majesty vouchsafed to accept it from them who wrought in a type, signifying the advent of thy Only-begotten, so thou wilt vouchsafe to behold and sanctify this sacrifice which is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son who for us all was made priest and victim." The *Post-pridie* is sometimes an oblation (as noted above), sometimes an invocation, sometimes both as in the Eastern rites, sometimes merely a general prayer with neither of these special features; but there are sufficient instances to show that oblation and invocation was the true tradition.

We have noted [52] that in the English book of 1549 the compilers introduced a similar invocation, altering for this purpose the clause of the Latin canon ("which oblation," etc.) which precedes the recital of the institution and retaining only the final words of the clause: "That it may become to us the body and blood," etc. What evidence have we to show that there was good and sufficient ground for developing this into an Epiclesis?

We may observe first that in early times there was a tendency to place such an Epiclesis in this position before the recital of the institution, usually (if not always) anticipating that which follows later. There is no trace of this in either version of the liturgy of St. James, nor in the Byzantine and Armenian rites; nor does it appear in the "Apostolic Tradition," nor in the present Ethiopic rite. But we can detect an approach to it in the Clementine liturgy; for there, between the usual thanksgiving for our Saviour's life and work and the recital of the institution to which it leads, we have a clause inserted, destroying the connection between the two passages and anticipating the thoughts and the terms of the oblatory clause

[50] Thiel, *Ep. Rom. Pontif.*, 486, 542.

[51] P. 170.

[52] P. 164.

which follows afterwards. It stands thus: "And sat down on the right hand of his God and Father: Wherefore in remembrance of what He suffered for us we give thee thanks, O God Almighty, not as we ought but as we are able, and we fulfil his commandment: For in the night in which he was betrayed," etc. There is no Epiclesis here, but the clause is closely parallel to what we have before us in the Latin rite, and it illustrates well the way in which the Epiclesis has been inserted in this place in other rites.

An early Alexandrine liturgy has it in a fully developed form, following on the Sanctus: "Fulfil us also, O Lord, with the glory that is from thee, and vouchsafe to send down thy Holy Spirit upon these creatures and make this bread the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and this cup the blood of the new covenant; because our Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed," etc.[53] And the Greek St. Mark is similar: "Full verily is the heaven and the earth of thy holy glory through the appearing of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ: Fulfil also, O God, this sacrifice with the blessing that is from thee through the descent of thy Holy Spirit upon it."[54] The Coptic has the same, adding the words: "And in blessing bless and in purifying purify these thy precious gifts which have been set before thy face, this bread and this cup";[55] where we note a certain resemblance to the phrases of the Latin: "Make this oblation blessed, approved," etc. Both these latter liturgies proceed at once to the recital of the institution, after which the usual invocation follows. The book of Sarapion similarly has a doubled invocation; first a prayer before the recital of the institution: "Lord of Hosts, fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation, for to thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation": and then in the later position there is an invocation of the Word (the Logos) introducing the mention of the Holy Ghost at the close: "O God of Truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the Truth, and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life, . . . for we have invoked thee the uncreated through the only-begotten in Holy Spirit."[56]

[53] Woolley, *Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, 119. The MS. being imperfect, it is uncertain whether it had a second invocation.

[54] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 132.

[55] *Ibid.* 176.

[56] Ed. Wordsworth, 62, 63.

There is a curious link between this passage of Sarapion and the parallel passage already cited from the *De Sacramentis* [57] where the oblation is called "a figure (*figura*) of the body and blood of Jesus Christ." So in Sarapion we have "the likeness of the holy body, . . . the likeness of the blood." [58] There is a third parallel in the "Testament of our Lord": "The cup of wine which he mixed he gave for a type of the blood which he shed for us." [59] And again the liturgy of St. Basil, in the oblatory prayer following after the recital of the institution, has the words: "presenting the antitypes of the holy body and blood of thy Christ"; [60] and this stands in the introductory clause immediately preceding the Epiclesis in its usual position, after the recital of the institution and the oblatory prayer. The terms *figure, likeness, type* and *antitype* are evidently used as an attempt to explain the meaning of the words "This *is* my body, This *is* my blood."

Turning back to the passage of the Latin canon (*Quam oblationem*) before the recital of the institution, we find the chief part of the same prayer following after that recital in the *Post-secreta* of a Sunday mass in a Gallican rite (*Missale Gothicum*) where it forms part of a distinct Epiclesis: "Having in remembrance the most glorious Lord's passion and resurrection from the dead, we offer unto thee, O Lord, this spotless sacrifice, reasonable sacrifice, bloodless sacrifice, this holy bread and cup of salvation, beseeching that thou wilt vouchsafe to pour upon [it] thy Holy Spirit that [these gifts] may confer (*conlatura*) eternal life on us who eat and the everlasting kingdom on us who drink." [61] This is ungrammatical and shows evidence of mutilation to adapt it to later Roman views; but the hiatus is supplied by the *Post-mysterium* for the feast of St. Peter's Chains in the same missal: "That thou wilt vouchsafe to send thy Holy Spirit upon these offerings (*solemnia*) that there may be to us a rightful Eucharist in the name of thy Son and of the Holy Spirit in the transforming (*transformatione*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten to confer (*conlatura*) eternal life," etc. (as before). [62] Thus we have ample evidence that the Roman petition for the oblation to be blessed and approved and made acceptable was originally a prayer for the Holy Spirit's action

[57] P. 164.
[58] Ed. Wordsworth, p. 62 (ὁμοίωμα). See above, p. 169.
[59] Cooper and Maclean, 73.
[60] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 329 (ἀντίτυπα).
[61] Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, 148.
[62] *Ibid.* 74.

and that its original position was that which the Gallican rite gives it after the recital of the institution.

After that prayer, ending with the petition that the sacrifice may become to us the body and blood of Christ, the Gregorian rite proceeds with the recital of the institution and the memorial oblation, with the other clauses already noted [63] as having apparently belonged to an offertory-prayer; after which follows the other clause already noticed (*supplices te rogamus*, etc.), praying that the offerings may be borne by the Angels to the altar on high, "that as many of us as . . . shall receive the body and blood of thy Son may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace." Here we have two clauses, one before and one after the recital of the institution, each expressing one of the purposes for which the Holy Spirit is invoked in the Eastern Epiclesis—first the prayer that the oblation may become the body and blood of Christ, secondly that the recipients may be blessed in the reception of that body and blood. Each of these clauses has the appearance of having been originally an invocation of the Holy Spirit like those of the East, however it may have happened to become duplicated as in the Egyptian rites that have been noticed.

The question then arises whether the Roman rite has lost an Epiclesis like that of the Eastern liturgies, or whether it represents an archaic form into which this feature was never introduced. It must be remembered that the Eastern churches always regarded the Epiclesis as effecting the consecration of the elements, whereas the Western Church from early times relied rather upon the recital of the institution as effecting it. Tertullian, writing in Africa about the year 207, used words which might be understood to assert this latter view: "The bread taken and distributed to the disciples He made to be His body by saying This is my body." [64] Hence the prayer of the Epiclesis after the recital of the institution presented a difficulty to the Western ritualists, and the transposition of the two would appear to them a desirable reform. Thus the African and Roman liturgies inserted the Epiclesis before the recital of the institution, while nevertheless they allowed a second form of it to remain in its primitive place; and eventually the Roman rite allowed the actual invocation to drop out entirely.

The first definite allusion to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit

[63] P. 172.

[64] Tert. *Adv. Marcion*, IV. 40.

is in the Catecheses of St. Cyril held at Jerusalem, A.D. 347: "We beseech the merciful God to send out the Holy Spirit upon the things which are set forth, that He may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ." [65] It is noteworthy that there is here no mention of the recital of the institution nor of the memorial oblation, though the liturgy certainly had both; but the passage proceeds at once to the invocation as being in St. Cyril's view the essential element of the prayer of consecration; and his next words speak of "the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless worship," as now completed. It seems probable, therefore, that the very full and definite form of Epiclesis which St. Cyril's words imply, and which so many liturgies embodied, may have been an Eastern development which was accepted at an early date by the churches of Asia and afterwards by those of Africa, and which also influenced very strongly the Gallican churches but was never adopted at Rome.

For the simpler form of invocation we have very early evidence. Thus Irenaeus speaks of the eucharistic "invocation of God" in close connection with the thought of the Holy Spirit imparted to our nature. And again he illustrates the resurrection of the body: "as a corn of wheat falling into the earth and becoming decomposed rises with manifold increase by the Spirit of God . . . and having received the Word of God becomes the Eucharist which is the body and blood of Christ." [66] Here as in the liturgy of Sarapion we have the invocation of the Word together with a mention of the Holy Spirit. We may fairly conclude that the primitive Roman liturgy had such a form of Epiclesis as the earliest authorities indicate, but not the fully developed form which was familiar to St. Cyril and to the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions in the fourth century.

The Greek liturgy of St. James is of special interest in this connection. It has the Epiclesis in the form to which St. Cyril alludes and which was probably one of the features introduced into it at an early date under Byzantine influence. And prefixed to this it has the prayer that God will "grant unto us thy heavenly and eternal gifts which eye saw not and ear heard not and which entered not into man's heart, which thou, O God, didst prepare for them that love thee." [67] The passage

[65] Above, p. 24.
[66] Iren., *Haer*, v. ii. 3.
[67] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 53.

obviously relates to the eucharistic gifts now to be bestowed. Can it be the primitive Epiclesis of this liturgy with the mention of the Holy Spirit lost from it? It is natural that this should have happened when the more formal Epiclesis was appended to it. It has been argued that it was a liturgical passage familiar to St. Paul; and it is certainly significant that when he used the words (1 Cor. ii. 9) he added immediately, "But unto us God revealed them through the Spirit," and he goes on in the following verses (10–14) to dwell upon the Holy Spirit's work. It is at least possible that the passage of Isaiah (lxiv. 4) upon which this is based embodies a form of Epiclesis used in the Paschal ritual and was familiar as such both to St. Paul and to the compiler of the liturgy. For the prophet also has been dwelling on the work of the Holy Spirit for God's people (lxiii. 10–14) and then proceeds to a prayer: "Look down from heaven and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory . . . O that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, . . . as when . . . the mountains flowed down at thy presence" (lxiii. 15–lxiv. 3). Moreover we have good evidence that the passage in the liturgy represents an original tradition there. Though it is wanting in the Syriac version we have there the same clauses which precede it and follow it in the Greek: "But after thy leniency and thy great and unspeakable love towards mankind, blot out the sins of us thy servants who intreat thee: for thy people and thine inheritance intreat thee": [68] and there is little doubt that the passage before us, which intervenes between these two clauses in the Greek, was originally in the Syriac also, for we have numerous Syriac liturgies derived from that of St. James which serve to prove this. One bearing the name of St. Julius, bishop of Rome, has an obvious paraphrase of the clause: "Bring not our sins into judgment and remembrance, O Lord, for none is wholly free from stains of sin; *but make us worthy of that spiritual rest which thou hast promised to thy elect who have confessed thy precious blood, and which thou hast promised to thy holy church;* which therefore with loud voice beseecheth thee." [69] In the liturgy of Dioscorus patriarch of Antioch we find a trace of the "heavenly and eternal gifts" of the Greek liturgy: "Do not for our hateful works deprive thy faithful

[68] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 88.

[69] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, II. 228.

people of *thy heavenly gift*, but through the abundance of thy grace send him [the Holy Spirit] to us and let him fill us with *his divine gifts*." [70] And in a liturgy called after St. Peter the invocation of the Holy Spirit contains a clause: "Let him rest and abide upon our oblations and upon ourselves in our infirmity, that we *may be able to perceive the breathing and the brightness* of his coming": [71] where "the breathing and the brightness" give the precise sense of "what ear hears not and eye sees not" in a paraphrase which may well be no mere accident. Others can be cited which, when read side by side with these, bear out the same conclusion.[72]

It is moreover not difficult to discover a reason why the passage was omitted. For in the liturgy of St. James, as in the passages of Isaiah and St. Paul, it relates to spiritual blessings bestowed in this life; but from the earliest times it came to be understood of the blessings of the future state. St. Clement, after citing the *Sanctus* hymn,[73] continues: "And we therefore being with one mind gathered together in conscience, let us as with one mouth cry earnestly to him that we may be made partakers of his great and glorious promises; for he saith, Eye saw not and ear heard not and into man's heart entered not how great things God prepared for them that patiently await him"; [74] and the next words apply this to the gifts of God hereafter. It is applied in the same way in the primitive homily which bears St. Clement's name,[75] and in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of St. Polycarp,[76] and several times in Hippolytus,[77] and also in the Apostolic Constitutions.[78]

Several liturgies have removed the clause to positions where in this secondary sense it fitted better with the context. Thus in the Greek St. Basil the prayer introducing the Lord's Prayer is, as already noted,[79] a free paraphrase of the memorial oblation and the invocation in the liturgy of St. James, but this particular clause is divorced from its proper connection and placed at the close: "That we also, with all the saints which from the beginning were pleasing to thee, may be made par-

[70] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, II. 289.
[71] *Ibid.* 218.
[72] I have collected several more in *The Apostolic Liturgy*, etc., Appendix IV. 556–565.
[73] Above, p. 156.
[74] *Clem. Rom.* I. xxxiv.
[75] *Ibid.* II. xi.
[76] Ch. ii.
[77] *Refutation of Heresies*, V. 21, 193; *Discourse against the Greeks*, 3; *On the End of the World*, 44.
[78] vii. 32.
[79] P. 173.

takers of thy eternal good things which thou preparedst for them that love thee."[80] In the same sense the Alexandrine St. Mark has the clause in the intercession for the departed: "To the souls of all these give rest, O Lord our God, in the tabernacles of thy saints, in thy kingdom, granting them those good things of thy promises which eye saw not and ear heard not and into man's heart ascended not, which thou preparedst, O God, for them that love thy holy name."[81] But this is evidently an interpolation; for though we find it also in the Coptic[82] it is not found in all versions of that rite,[83] nor in the Ethiopic.[84]

All the evidence therefore goes to show that we have in this clause of the liturgy of St. James a very valuable relic of a primitive Epiclesis of which the true force has been obscured since the fully developed Byzantine form was superadded to it. And this serves to bear out the inference that the Roman liturgy agreed with the rest in having originally a form of Epiclesis.

In the form which the compilers of the book of 1549 introduced in the English rite some details demand notice. The phrase "bless and sanctify" is unusual, appearing only in the Persian liturgy and in that of St. Basil;[85] and the latter of these is probably the source from which it was adopted. Still more remarkable is the phrase: "With thy Holy Spirit and Word." Whence was this mention of the "Word" derived? The compilers were familiar with the Eastern invocation of the Holy Spirit; but the book of Sarapion, which is singular in its invocation of the Holy Word, was certainly unknown to them. Nor can it be imagined that the phrase was suggested by the passage of Irenaeus, of the corn which "having received the Word of God becomes the Eucharist." It is probable that the compilers of 1549 had in mind the passage of St. Paul to St. Timothy (1. iv. 5), of the food "received with thanksgiving" when "it is sanctified through the Word of God and prayer."

But whatever may have been the source of the phrase "Thy Holy Spirit and Word," we may assume that it was intended to include with the Invocation of the Holy Spirit the recital of

[80] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 410.
[81] *Ibid.* 129.
[82] *Ibid.* 170.
[83] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, I. 41; Hammond, *Lit. Eastern and Western*, 210.
[84] Brightman, as above, 229.
[85] *Ibid.* 287, 406.

the institution of the Holy Eucharist as the "Word of God," regarding the invocation and this recital as the two forms which are necessary for a regular consecration. If the one had been undervalued in the Western Church, the other had been overvalued, as if the recital of the Word was in itself a sufficient consecration; and our revisers desired to restore the true balance. The Scottish and American Prayer-books, as noted above, instead of the phrase "with thy Holy Spirit and Word," have the alteration made by Laud in 1637, "with thy Word and Holy Spirit," apparently taking the "Word" to be the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.

9. The Intercession.

After the final clause which represents the invocation the Latin canon proceeds with the intercession for the departed and a second commemoration of saints. It is reasonable to conclude that this passage remains in its original position and that the other clauses of the intercession which should precede it have been removed; for in that case the order would be the same as in the great majority of liturgies, the invocation of the Holy Ghost leading on to the intercession. This is the order which is indicated in St. John's record of the institution,[86] and it is followed in all the early Syrian rites and in the Armenian.[87] St. Cyril expressly alludes to the intercession as he used it at Jerusalem: "After the completion of the spiritual sacrifice . . . we beseech God . . . for the common peace of the churches," etc., and he proceeds to describe the commemoration of the saints and the prayer for the departed.[88]

A valuable illustration of the manner in which the officiant was accustomed to frame the intercession in the earliest period occurs among the concluding paragraphs of the Epistle of St. Clement, written in the name of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth in the first century; where we have a somewhat lengthy prayer containing several points of resemblance to the intercession of the earliest liturgies; and its liturgical character is further shown by the occurrence of many expressions which are found also in the Clementine rite.[89] It begins with a general prayer that the worshippers may have a fuller knowledge of God; it proceeds with prayer for help to those

[86] Above, p. 13.
[87] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 21, 54, 89, 331, 387, 407, 439.
[88] Above, p. 24.
[89] Warren, *Antenicene Church*, 154 *sqq.*

who are in trouble or need and for the conversion of the ungodly and of the gentiles; it appeals to God as the Creator to forgive the sins of His people and to give concord and peace to the world; and lastly it prays for rulers and governors and ends with an ascription of praise.

It is possible that with the gradual lengthening of the intercessions there arose a feeling that the leading thoughts of the liturgy were interrupted by them; but from whatever cause we find a widespread tendency to bring these prayers forward into an earlier position instead of introducing them between the consecration and the communion. This appears first in the "Testament of our Lord" and in the Persian liturgy, both of which have their intercession immediately before instead of after the invocation of the Holy Spirit.[90] In the Egyptian rites generally it is placed in the middle of the preface,[91] where the very awkwardness of its position suggests that it is an intrusion; and this becomes a certainty when we examine the Ethiopic rite, for it contains the passage already cited[92] from the "Apostolic Tradition" and the Ethiopic Church Order, but between the words "Through whom thou madest all things by thy will" and the words "Who sentest thy Son from heaven" it inserts the intercession.[93] The book of Sarapion[94] has an intercession in the same position as the Syrian liturgies; and the "Apostolic Tradition" and the Ethiopic Church Order agree with this; for though they have no formal intercession, its absence is explained by the fact that much is left to be said by the officiant in his own words, as appears in directions relating to an oblation of oil at this point.[95]

In the Mozarabic rite the tendency to place the intercession earlier has been carried furthest of all and it is amalgamated with the reading of the diptychs after the offertory; but this rite also testifies to the original position of it, for after the prayer *Post-pridie* (though here the Creed intervenes) the priest is directed to "make the remembrance for the living" (*faciat memento pro vivis*) in silence before proceeding with the introduction to the Lord's Prayer.

Reverting then to the Gregorian rite we may note the opening words of the intercession for the departed: "Remember also

[90] *Test. of our Lord*, Cooper and Maclean, 74 *sq.*; Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 285.
[91] Brightman, *ibid.* 126, 165, 228.
[92] P. 152.
[93] Brightman, as above, 228–231.
[94] Ed. Wordsworth, 64.
[95] Duchesne, 528 (ed. V.); Brightman, 190.

(*Memento etiam*), O Lord, the souls," etc. Here the connecting "also" suggests that the clause must have been severed from another intercessory clause which had preceded it; and accordingly there are two ancient sacramentaries in which it follows immediately upon the previous memorial for the living (*Memento Domine*) before the consecration, while another has it in a still earlier position after the reading of the diptychs and yet again there are other ancient texts which omit it altogether,[96] as does the Maundy Thursday canon of the Ambrosian rite. Thus we have evidence that in the Roman rite as in those of the East the prayer for the departed was appended to the other portion of the general intercession, and also that its present isolated position was felt to be anomalous.

Then if we set together the facts to be noted in the Gregorian rite, we find (1) that it stands alone in making a severance between the two portions of the intercession; (2) that it has placed the one portion in a unique position after the *sanctus* and before the beginning of the consecration-prayer; (3) that it has adopted into this position some intercessory clauses derived from Gallican sources where they belonged to the reading of the diptychs, and has used these to represent the primitive intercession for the living; (4) that it has allowed the intercession for the departed to remain in its original position, perhaps from a feeling that it comes in most suitably at the close of the canon; and (5) that it has two commemorations of saints, the one appended to the intercession for the living and representing the ancient diptychs of the departed, the other retaining its original place after the intercession for the departed at the close.

In explanation of this double commemoration of saints, it has been suggested that in primitive times when the Church in Rome had both a Latin and a Greek element, each with its own liturgy, the Latin may already have placed this commemoration in the earlier position while the Greeks had it in the later position; and when the two sections of the Church coalesced and used a single Latin liturgy it may have been found desirable to gratify the wishes of each section by retaining both the commemorations.[97]

All the lines of evidence therefore point to the inference that

[96] Wyatt, *The Eucharistic Prayer*, 43 *sq.*

[97] Edward Burbidge, cited in Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 96.

the Roman rite had its intercession where the chief Eastern rites still have it; and we conclude that the revisers of 1549 were right in combining the severed portions of it into one; but had they followed primitive usage they would have deferred the prayers for the living to the later position instead of bringing forward the commemoration of the departed to the earlier position. The revisers of 1552, whether consciously or not, had the precedent of the Mozarabic rite in removing the whole to the place at which the diptychs had anciently been read; and in so doing they made an important advance towards the restoration of a primitive order.

It remains to notice the final passage of the Latin canon. After the second commemoration of saints, concluding with the words "Through Christ our Lord," it proceeds: "By whom, O Lord, thou dost ever create all these things good (*Per quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas*), hallowest, quickenest, blessest and bestowest upon us." This is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary [98] and in the Stowe Missal [99] as in the Gregorian rites. The English revisers, while preserving the clauses which precede and follow it, have omitted this entirely. It does not connect itself with what has gone before; and it is very strange, to say the least, that the consecrated gifts should now be described as "all these things." But the explanation comes out clearly when we find this clause repeatedly occurring as the conclusion of a blessing of the fruits of the earth. In the Leonine Sacramentary we have the variable passages of a mass at Pentecost, and between the clause *Communicantes* [1] and the concluding prayer it inserts a benediction of the water and milk and honey which were to be given to the newly baptised after their first communion [2]: similarly in the Gelasian Sacramentary the mass of Ascension Day gives the *Communicantes* clause and adds; "Then a little before the ending of the canon thou shalt bless the new fruits"; and the blessing of new beans follows: the same Sacramentary gives another benediction of grapes and beans; and again the Gregorian Sacramentary has a benediction of grapes placed between the preface and the concluding prayer of the Mass of St. Xystus' Day (August 5th).[3] Each of these four benedictions concludes with the clause *Per quem haec omnia*, etc. The oils also which were to be used in

[98] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 697.

[99] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 241.

[1] Above, p. 145.

[2] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 315.

[3] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 318 *sq.*, 588, 746; II. 109.

baptism or in the unction of the sick were blessed at this point of the liturgy on Maundy Thursday.[4] It should be noted also that a prayer for the fruits of the earth occurs in this position, towards the close of the intercession, in some of the earliest Eastern liturgies, as the Clementine, the Greek St. James and St. Basil.[5]. Lastly, the York Manual has a form of benediction of new fruit embodying phrases of this clause of the missal and apparently based upon it: "O Lord . . . who *hast created* heaven and earth and *all things* that are in them, we beseech thee that thou wouldest vouchsafe to *bless and hallow* this new fruit and multiply it abundantly to those who are offering it to thee," etc.[6] The clause occurs in the Ambrosian rite with the additional words, "Unto increase of faith and remission of all our sins"; and there is a special significance in these words if they had reference originally to approaching baptisms for which oil was being hallowed. In the Mozarabic rite the clause stands as a fixed conclusion to the variable *Post-pridie* prayer; and here it has the additional words, "that it may be blessed (*ut sit benedicta*) by thee our God for ever and ever;" which must either be understood as if the word *oblatio* or *hostia* had been expressed, or else a letter has been omitted (*sit* standing for *sint*) and the prayer is that "all these things" may be blessed.

The direction also that the celebrant shall sign the cross over the cup (in the Roman rite "over the host and the cup together") at the words "hallowest, quickenest, blessest"—given in the Stowe missal as well as in those of later date—is much more suitable if it had its origin in the blessing of the fruits or of the oil, but seems unsuitable when it is used over the consecrated gifts.

The hallowing of the oil occurs in the "Apostolic Tradition"[7] in the same position that this clause occupies in the Latin canon, and the ceremony is still continued in the Ethiopic rite on Maundy Thursday.[8] In the book of Sarapion[9] it follows after the reception of communion and before the Liturgy closes, and it includes a blessing of water as well as oil, praying that God will "Grant healing power to these creatures that every fever and every evil spirit and every sick-

[4] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 183, 305; Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 97.

[5] Brightman, 22, 56, 409.

[6] *York Manual* (Surtees Soc.), 107.

[7] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 528 (ed. V.).

[8] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 190, 584.

[9] Ed. Wordsworth, 66.

ness may depart through the drinking and the anointing"; and similar benedictions and prayers follow afterwards independently of the liturgy.[10] In Book viii of the Apostolic Constitutions, while the liturgy itself contained in it has no such prayer, the directions which follow it (ch. 29) include a prayer similar to that of Sarapion's liturgy.

The revisers of 1547, therefore, omitted the clause of which the meaning had long disappeared and which as it now stood could only be justified by a forced interpretation.

At the same time the doxology at the close, "By whom and with whom," etc., was rightly retained, though it was unfortunately curtailed by the omission of the third phrase, "and in whom." This final clause is not found in the Mozarabic rite. But the Ambrosian has it in a varied and enlarged form: "And there is to thee, God the Father Almighty, from him and by him and in him all honour, might, praise and glory, empire, perpetuity and power in the unity of the Holy Ghost through the endless ages of the ages. Amen." Here the phrases of St. Paul[11] are substituted for those of the Gregorian rite, "by him and with him and in him." It seems therefore to be a clause of Gallican origin, adopted into the Roman liturgy, in which, moreover, its simpler and more ancient form is preserved.

10. The Lord's Prayer.

In the Latin rite the Lord's Prayer was said precisely as the revisers of 1549 retained it, with a preamble of which they give a free rendering and with the final clause said as a response. The preamble occurs in a more or less varied form in all the Gallican and Celtic rites. The Ambrosian adopts the Gregorian form; but the ancient canon used on Maundy Thursday has a widely varied clause of the Gallican type. In the Mozarabic and some others it varies with every service.

In the Eastern Churches the following formula is, with slight variations, common to the Byzantine and the Armenian rites: "Vouchsafe, O Lord, that we may be bold to call upon thee our Father in heaven and to say"[12]: and this forms the basis of the amplified forms which are found in the early Syrian,[13]

[10] Ed. Wordsworth, 74 *sqq.*
[11] Rom. xi. 36.
[12] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 339, 391, 410, 446.
[13] *Ibid.* 59, 100.

the Persian,[14] and most of the African rites.[15] The early Syrian and Egyptian rites insert such phrases as "in a pure heart" and "with face unshamed"; [16] and similarly we have "with pure conscience" in the account which St. Cyril gives of it at Jerusalem.[17]

The use of the Lord's Prayer at this point in the liturgy became almost universal, though it is not found here in the "Apostolic Tradition" or the other early Church Orders, nor in the Clementine liturgy nor in Sarapion. It is wanting also in the ancient form of the Ethiopic rite known as the Anaphora of our Lord [18] and in some modern recensions of it,[19] while in others it is obviously inserted as an afterthought, being thrust into the middle of an ancient prayer for worthy reception.[20] But the "Testament of our Lord" has allusions to the opening petitions of the Lord's Prayer in a prayer in close connection with the reception: "That with boldness I may call thee Father when I call for thy kingdom and thy will: . . . may thy name be hallowed in me."[21] And in a later position, after reception, the Ethiopic liturgy has a brief response thrice repeated by the people: "Our Father which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation"; [22] which some writers have mistaken for the complete prayer. It may reasonably be inferred that the people were instructed to connect the prayer with the Holy Communion though it was not yet actually said in the liturgy.

St. Augustine says that "almost every church" concludes the consecration-prayer with the Lord's Prayer.[23] Hence, as we might expect, it has not always been inserted in exactly the same position, but is found sometimes before and sometimes after the ceremonial breaking of the bread which occurs nearly always at this point.[24] In the Mozarabic and the Ambrosian rites, as also in those of the Copts, the Syro-Jacobites, and the Nestorians of Persia, the Lord's Prayer stands after the Fraction; but in the Greek Orthodox rites and the Armenian it is before the Fraction. The Roman rite, it seems, had placed it in the former position, until St. Gregory the Great removed

[14] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 295.
[15] *Ibid.* 136, 182.
[16] *Ibid.* 59, 100, 135, 182.
[17] Above, p. 24.
[18] Cooper and Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, App. I. 248.
[19] Mercer, *Ethiopic Liturgy*, 356.
[20] Brightman, as above, 234.
[21] Cooper and Maclean, 76.
[22] Brightman, as above, 242 *sq.*; Mercer, 367.
[23] S. Aug. *Epist.* xlix. *n.* 16 (*Patr. Lat.* III. 636).
[24] See below, p. 206 *sq.*

it in accordance with Byzantine usage, bringing it into closer relation to the consecration-prayer.[25]

In the Eastern liturgies generally the Lord's Prayer is said by the people with the priest; and St. Gregory in the passage already cited [26] mentions this as a difference between the Greek custom and that of the Latins with whom it is said by the priest alone. The Mozarabic, representing an early Gallican usage, is very remarkable; for the Prayer is said by the priest and *Amen* is said as a response to the opening address and also to each of the first three petitions and the fifth, while the response to the fourth petition is "For thou art God," and to the sixth, "But deliver us from evil." The last petition is similarly said as a response in the other Latin rites.

The extension of the final petition, "Deliver us from evil," which we have in the old English rites and in the Roman, and also in a slightly enlarged form in the Ambrosian, was discarded by the revisers in 1549. But the ancient liturgies have it almost universally. In the Mozarabic it is: "Delivered from evil, confirmed always in good, may we be found worthy to serve thee our God and Lord"; and this proceeds in a further series of petitions against various kinds of evil. But in most of the Gallican and the Celtic missals this extension of the prayer, known as the *Post orationem dominicam*, is one of the variable passages.

In the East, where it is known as the *embolismus*, or the prayer "thrown in," [27] it is found in all liturgies except those of the Byzantine family, in which it was already lacking as early as the ninth century.[28] But there is evidence that it was originally here, for the liturgy of St. Basil has a relic of it incorporated into the next prayer in the words: "Separate us from every evil work and unite us in every good work"; [29] and in the Armenian it is said silently by the priest while the Lord's Prayer is being sung,[30] where we may see the step which led to its omission. Here as elsewhere in the East both the concluding petitions are amplified in it, and it is usually developed by the insertion of additional phrases; as for example in the Greek St. James: "Yea lead us not into temptation, O Lord thou Lord of hosts, who knowest our infirmity, but

[25] *Mox post canonem.* Greg. *Epist.* lib. IX. Indict. ii. Ep. xii. (*P. L.* III. 956).

[26] *Ibid.* 957.

[27] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 656.

[28] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 339.

[29] *Ibid.* 340.

[30] *Ibid.* 446.

deliver us from the evil one and his works and all his despitefulness and craft, for the sake of thy holy name by which our humility is named." [31]

The Doxology is not appended to the Lord's Prayer in the Latin rites, but appears in those of the East, and follows after the embolismus where this is used. The familiar form found in the later copies of the Gospel of St. Matthew (vi. 13) occurs in the Persian rite,[32] and is made part of the Prayer, as in the English. Elsewhere, as in the Greek St. James, the Alexandrine St. Mark, the Byzantine and the Armenian,[33] it does not form part of the Prayer, but is added by the priest alone; and this is the general Eastern usage. In several liturgies, as in the Syriac St. James and the Coptic,[34] it is very widely varied. The Byzantine rites, followed by the Greek St. James, insert the words "Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and always," before the final "for ever and ever." [35]

Section IV.—The Communion

1549.	1661.
The Salutation of Peace.	
"Christ our Paschal Lamb."	
Confession and Absolution.	
"Comfortable Words."	
Prayers before Reception.	
Administration of Communion.	Administration of Communion.
Agnus Dei.	
Post-Communion Sentences.	
Salutation.	
	The Lord's Prayer.
Post-Communion Prayer.	Post-Communion Prayers (alternative).
	Gloria in Excelsis.
Blessing.	Blessing.

[31] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 60.
[32] *Ibid.* 296.
[33] *Ibid.* 60, 136, 339, 350, 392, 446.
[34] *Ibid.* 100, 182.
[35] *Ibid.* 60, 339, etc.

THE USE OF SARUM.

The Fraction.
Blessing.
Agnus Dei.
The Commixture.
The Kiss of Peace.
Prayers before Reception.
Reception of Communion.
Prayer after Reception.
The Ablutions.
Communio (Post-Communion Anthem).
Post-Communio (Prayer).
The Dismissal.

[THE FRACTION.]

[*During the final clauses of the sequel to the Lord's Prayer,* Deliver us we beseech thee, etc.[1]] *Let the deacon give the paten to the priest, kissing his hand; and let the priest kiss the paten: after this let him place it at his left eye, then at his right; then let him make the cross with the paten above his head; and afterwards let him set it back in its place, saying:* Graciously give peace, etc. *Here let him uncover the cup and take the body with a reverence, placing it over the bowl of the cup, holding it between the thumbs and forefingers; and let him break it into three parts, saying at the first fraction,* Though the same our Lord, etc., *at the second fraction,* Who liveth and reigneth, etc. *Here let him hold two portions in his left hand and the third portion over the top of the cup in his right hand, saying aloud,* Through all the ages of the ages. *Let the choir respond,* Amen.

[BLESSING.]

Here let the priest make three crosses within the cup with the third portion of the sacrifice, saying, The Peace of the Lord ✠ be al✠way with ✠ you. *Let the choir respond,* And with thy Spirit.

[*If the bishop shall celebrate let the deacon say,* Bow down yourselves for the blessing. *Let the choir respond,* Thanks be to thee O God. *Afterwards, the Eucharist being replaced on the paten, let the bishop give the blessing to the people.*]

[1] Above, p. 148.

[Agnus Dei.]

Let the priest and ministers say privately, while the choir sing: O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world: have mercy upon us. O Lamb . . . have mercy upon us. O Lamb . . . grant us peace.

[*In masses for the departed:* O Lamb of God . . . grant them rest, *thrice, adding at the third line* eternal.]

[The Commixture.]

Here signing the cross let the priest place the aforesaid third portion of the host in the sacrament of the blood, saying: This most ✠ sacred mingling (*commixtio*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me and to all who receive it health of mind and body and a saving preparation for deserving and obtaining eternal life: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

[The Kiss of Peace.]

Before the Peace is given let him say: O Lord holy Father almighty everlasting God: Grant me so worthily to take this most sacred body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ that through it I may be made meet to receive remission of all my sins and to be filled with thy Holy Spirit: for thou only art God and there is none other beside thee, whose glorious kingdom and dominion endureth world without end. Amen. *Here let the priest kiss the corporals and the top of the cup and afterward kiss the deacon, saying,* Peace to thee and to the church of God. *Response,* And with thy spirit. *Let the deacon receive the Pax from the priest and let him give it to the sub-deacon; then let the deacon take it to the rulers of the choir, and let them give it to the choir, each on his own side, beginning with the seniors.*

[Prayers before Reception.]

Then let the priest before he communicates say the prayers that follow, holding the host in both his hands. O God the Father, fountain and source of all goodness, who being moved by mercy didst will thine Only-begotten to descend to the lower parts of the world and to take flesh which I unworthy here hold in my hands: I worship thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with full purpose of mind and heart, and pray that thou wilt not forsake us thy servants but wilt pardon our sins that we may be enabled to serve thee the only living and true God with pure heart and chaste body: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen. O Lord Jesu Christ Son of the living God who by the

will of the Father with the working of the Holy Spirit hast by thy death given life to the world: deliver me I beseech thee by this thy most holy body and this thy blood from all my iniquities and from every evil, and make me always to obey thy commandments and suffer me never to be separated from thee, O Saviour of the world, who with God the Father and the same Holy Spirit livest and reignest God world without end. Amen. Grant that this sacrament of thy body and blood, O Lord Jesus Christ, which I unworthy receive, may not be to me for judgment and condemnation but may by thy goodness be profitable for health of my body and soul. Amen.

[Reception of Communion.]

Toward the body before receiving it let him say bowing down: Hail for evermore most holy flesh of Christ, to me before all things and above all things the sum of delight. The body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me a sinner the way and the life. In the name ✠ of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. *Here let him receive the body, first making the cross with the same before his mouth.*

Then towards the cup let him say with great devotion: Hail for evermore heavenly drink, to me before all things and above all things the sum of delight. The body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be profitable to me a sinner for a perpetual healing unto eternal life. Amen. In the name ✠ of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. *Here let him receive the blood.*

[Prayer after Reception.]

After which let him bow down and say with devotion the prayer following: I give thanks to thee, Holy Lord, Father Almighty, everlasting God, who hast refreshed me from the most holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ; and I pray thee that this sacrament of our salvation which I an unworthy sinner have received may not be to me for judgment nor for condemnation according to my deserts but for the advancement of my body and soul unto eternal life. Amen.

[The Ablutions.]

After this let him go to the right side of the altar with the cup between his hands, his fingers being joined as before; and let the subdeacon pour into the cup wine and water and let the priest rinse his hands lest any relics of the body or the blood remain on his fingers or in the cup. After the first ablution this prayer is said: What we have taken with our mouths O

Lord may we with pure mind receive, and from the temporal gift may there be to us eternal healing. *Here let him wash his fingers in the hollow of the cup with wine poured by the subdeacon and after drinking it let the prayer follow:* May this communion O Lord purge us from sin and make us partakers of the heavenly healing.

After taking the ablutions let the priest set the cup on the paten so that if aught remain it may drain off: then let him bow down and say: Let us worship the sign of the cross whereby we have received the sacrament of salvation. *Then let him wash his hands and let the deacon meanwhile fold the corporals. Then let the priest return to the right side of the altar and let the deacon hold the cup to the priest's mouth that if aught remains he may drink it.*

[Post-Communion Anthem.]

Then let him say with the ministers the Communio.

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* We have seen his star in the East and we have come with gifts to worship the Lord.]

[Post-Communion Prayer.]

Then signing the cross on his face let the priest turn to the people and say, The Lord be with you. ℟. And with thy Spirit. *And again turning to the altar let him say,* Let us pray. *Then let him say the* Post-communio *according to the number and order of the aforesaid collects before the Epistle.*

[*On the Feast of the Epiphany:* Grant we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the things which in the solemn office we celebrate we may with the understanding of a cleansed mind attain: through our Lord, etc.]

[The Dismissal.]

After this let him again sign the cross on his forehead and turning to the people say, The Lord be with you. ℟. And with thy spirit.

Then let the deacon say, Let us bless the Lord; *or else, turning to the people,* Depart, it is the dismissal.

Then let the priest say silently before the midst of the altar: Well pleasing to thee be the obedience of my service, O Holy Trinity; and grant that this sacrifice, which I though unworthy have offered before the eyes of thy majesty, may be acceptable to thee and may be propitious for me and all for whom I have offered it, by thy mercy who livest and reignest world without end. Amen.

Then let him sign himself and say, In the name of the Father,

etc. *And in returning from the altar let him say the Gospel,* In the beginning, etc. (St. John i. 1–14).

NOTES.

1. The Salutation of Peace and the Kiss of Peace.
2. "Christ our Paschal Lamb"—*Sancta Sanctis*—The Elevation.
3. The Confession and Absolution.
4. The "Comfortable Words"—The Blessing—The Prayer of Inclination.
5. The Prayer before Reception.
6. The Fraction and Commixture.
7. *Agnus Dei*—"One Holy"—Anthem before Reception.
8. The Reception and the Formula of Administration.
9. Additional Consecration.
10. The *Communio* or Post-Communion Anthem.
11. The Ablutions.
12. The Post-Communion Prayer.
13. The Dismissal and Blessing.
14. The Holy Loaf.

1. The Salutation of Peace and the Kiss of Peace.

The salutation, "The Peace of the Lord be alway with you," with its response, following after the Lord's Prayer, is retained in 1549 from the Latin rite, where it is found at least as early as the Gelasian Sacramentary.[2] In the Gregorian rite it accompanies the Fraction of the Host and the Commixture or placing of a portion in the chalice; and at the same time the *Agnus Dei*, presently to be noticed, is said; after which the Kiss of Peace is given and the salutation is repeated. In the Roman form it is simply "Peace be with thee" (*Pax tecum*), addressed to the deacon; and similarly in the Sarum use "Peace to thee and to the church," with the response as before, "And with thy spirit." Elsewhere it is plural. In the York and Hereford uses it is "Have the bond of peace and love that ye may be meet for the sacred mysteries of God"; to which the Hereford use subjoins in an amplified form the Sarum words. It has been already mentioned[3] that the Roman Church before the

[2] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 698. [3] Above, p. 141.

beginning of the fifth century removed the kiss of peace to this place from its original place after the offertory. St. Augustine alludes to the briefer formula *Pax vobiscum*, said after the Lord's Prayer, and to the kiss of peace accompanying it, in the African use.[4] The Ambrosian rite has here: "The peace and the communication of our Lord Jesus Christ be ever with you"; and the kiss of peace is given. The Mozarabic, like the Eastern rites, retains the kiss of peace in its earlier position. But in this later place, after the Lord's Prayer, the salutation with its response is practically universal in the East, the Cæsarean rite of St. Basil being the only great liturgy that omits it.[5] In the Clementine liturgy it is, "The Peace of God be with you all,"[6] resembling the Latin. In the other early Syrian rites, and in the Egyptian, the Persian, the Byzantine and the Armenian, it is the brief "Peace to all."[7] Hence it appears that when the Roman Church decided to postpone the kiss of peace until the latter part of the liturgy, the salutation already occurring here marked this as a suitable position.

The actual salutation was continued in England until the thirteenth century, when it was superseded by the use of a tablet of wood, metal, ivory or glass, known as the *pax* or *osculatorium*, which was kissed first by the priest and then carried round to the worshippers; the book of the Gospels being sometimes used instead of it.[8]

No special prayer accompanies this ceremony in the Sarum use nor in that of York; but the Roman missal supplies a beautiful prayer which has been introduced into that of Hereford: "O Lord Jesu Christ, who saidst to thy apostles, Peace I leave to you, my peace I give to you: Regard not my sins but the faith of thy church, and grant her peace and unity according to thy will: who livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen."

The ceremony and the prayer of the kiss in the Eastern churches have been described at the place where they occur.[9]

2. "Christ our Paschal Lamb," etc.

The proclamation by the priest, "Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us," etc., is not derived from the Latin rite.

[4] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 110, 187.
[5] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 410.
[6] *Ibid.* 20.
[7] *Ibid.* 60, 100, 137, 180, 238, 296, 340, 350, 392, 446.
[8] Simmons, *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 295 *sqq.*
[9] P. 141 *sq.*

We may presume that its insertion in 1549 was suggested by the words "Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sins of the world," which the Roman Missal directs the priest to say before the communion of the people and which was probably used in the English Church. We may note the plural, "sins," as in that formula and in the *Agnus Dei*, instead of "sin" as in St. John i. 29. This passage of 1549 may have been further suggested by the Communion Anthem of Easter in the Gregorian rites, taken from 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, "Our Passover hath been sacrificed, even Christ" (*Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*), etc., which is found as early as the First Roman Order [10] of the eighth century. The formula embodies also the words of Hebrews x. 10, "the offering . . . once for all," and of 1 St. Peter ii. 24, "who . . . bare our sins in his body upon the tree."

Corresponding in position with this formula of 1549 we have in several of the most ancient liturgies the priest's proclamation, "The holy things unto the holy." This is found in the early Syrian rites, the Alexandrine, the Persian and the Byzantine,[11] and also in the Mozarabic *Sancta Sanctis*. The Coptic rite shows the antiquity of it by saying it not in the vernacular but in Greek,[12] and it is mentioned in several early writers.[13] It is curiously varied in the "Apostolic Tradition" and in the Ethiopic rite, "Holiness to the holies," [14] and in the Armenian, "Unto the holiness of the holies." [15] The "Testament of our Lord" has removed it and placed it after *Sursum Corda*.[16]

In most of the Eastern liturgies this proclamation is introduced by a bidding of the deacon, "Let us bow down our heads to the Lord," with a prayer for the hallowing of the worshippers, known as the Prayer of Inclination, or Bowing down, which in some of the earliest forms (the Greek St. James, the Syriac, and the Coptic) begins, "To thee, O Lord, we thy servants bow down our necks," [17] while the other Egyptian rites and the Byzantine and Armenian embody the same clause in the prayer.[18] The priest is then directed to "lift up the gift" and to say the *Sancta Sanctis*, this being followed by a

[10] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 178.
[11] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 24, 62, 101, 138, 296, 341, 393.
[12] *Ibid.* 184.
[13] *Ibid.* 648, note 24.
[14] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 529 (ed. V.); Brightman, as above, 191, 237.
[15] *Ibid.* 447.
[16] Cooper and Maclean, 71.
[17] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 60, 100, 183.
[18] *Ibid.* 137, 235, 340, 392, 411, 446.

response of the people, "One Holy One Lord Jesus Christ unto glory of God the Father."[19] This series of three actions in the liturgy recalls the expressions of St. Paul to the Philippians (ii. 9–11) which may be exactly rendered: "God hath *lifted him up* . . . that in the name of Jesus every knee *should bend* . . . and that every tongue should confess that he is *Lord Jesus Christ unto glory of God the Father.*"[20] The widespread occurrence of these details and words in the liturgies proves their very early date; and when we find St. Paul's phrases corresponding so closely with them, there arises a strong probability that he had this liturgical usage in his mind; the more so when we find him using stronger and more forcible phrases, as his subject seems to demand: "God hath *over*-uplifted him"; and not only that every head should bow, but "that every knee should bend."[21]

The lifting up of "the holy bread" or "the gift" is prescribed in the early Syrian rites and also in the Egyptian, the Byzantine and the Armenian;[22] and it doubtless carries on a primitive tradition.[23] The people's response, "One Holy," etc., will presently be more fully noticed in connection with the Communion hymn. In the West the elevation is prescribed in the Mozarabic rite,[24] but it occurs before instead of after the Lord's Prayer, and the Nicene Creed has been introduced here in place of the "One Holy," etc. of the Eastern rites. In the Ambrosian the priest is to "lift up the host a little" (*elevat hostiam paululum*), and in the Roman he "lifts a little (*parum*) the cup with the host," as he says the final words of the prayer of consecration. In the Stowe Missal at the same point "the oblation is lifted over the cup."[25] This elevation does not appear in the English missals; but they have an obvious survival of it in the curious rubrics after the Lord's Prayer, where the deacon is directed to raise the paten first to his left eye, then to his right eye, and then to make a cross with it above his head.[26]

[19] Below, p. 213.

[20] ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός, as in the Liturgies (Brightman, 24, 62, 341, 351, 393, 447).

[21] Phil. ii. 9, 10, ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε . . . πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ. In the Greek liturgies we have τὰς κεφαλὰς κλίνωμεν, and in the rubric, which of course merely represents a tradition, ὑψῶν τὸ δῶρον or ὑψοῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον. Brightman, 60 *sq.* 341, 351.

[22] Brightman, 61, 101, 136, 182, 341, 393, 447.

[23] Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. Introd. 275 *sq.*, ch. i. 375.

[24] *Miss. Mozar*, ed. Leslie, 230.

[25] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 241; *cf.* 265.

[26] See Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. 270, note.

The later medieval missals had introduced a previous elevation at the recital of the institution, directing the priest to lift up the host that it may be seen by the people; and this was expressly forbidden in the rite of 1549. The "Order of Communion" of the previous year had prescribed that if additional wine was needed it should be consecrated with the repetition of the words *Simili modo*, etc. ("Likewise after supper," etc.), "and without any levation or lifting up"; and now this prohibition was extended so that always the words of institution were to be rehearsed "without any elevation or shewing the Sacrament to the people." But the revisers of 1549, knowing something of the Eastern liturgies, could not be ignorant of the more ancient usage; and while they forbade the innovation of lifting up the sacrament at the words of institution it would be entirely in accordance with the principles of their revision neither to forbid nor to enjoin the older custom. The insertion of the passage, "Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up," etc., would certainly suggest it to those who desired to observe it; and this may well have been the motive which led the revisers to introduce that passage. The same principle seems to have guided the revisers of 1552 when they expunged the rubric which prohibited the late medieval elevation. Their action is at first sight difficult to explain; for that usage cannot have been forgotten in less than four years, and they certainly would not wish it to be revived. But the retention of the prohibition at this point would have had the effect of disallowing the primitive elevation also, now that all the intervening matter was removed and the two positions had thus become coincident.

3. The Confession and Absolution.

For the insertion of a formal confession and absolution after the completion of the consecration and before the prayer of the approach to communion there is no actual parallel in ancient rites. But some examples that most nearly resemble it may be noticed. In the Greek Liturgy of St. James, after the *Sancta Sanctis*, the deacon says a brief litany beginning "For forgiveness of our sins and propitiation of our souls," and passing on to intercessions, the people responding twelve times "Lord have mercy." [27] There is a closer parallel at the same point in the Ethiopic rite, where the deacon proclaims, "Ye

[27] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 62.

that are in penitence bow down your head," and the priest adds a prayer beginning "Upon them that are in penitence, thy people, have mercy upon them after thy great goodness and according to the multitude of thy mercy blot out their transgression."[28] But this is entirely exceptional; and therefore when we regard these penitential passages of 1549 from the standpoint of the ancient rites generally they stand as an unfortunate excrescence, disfiguring the service in its most solemn part.

The intrusion had its origin in a corrupt medieval usage which had never appeared in the canon of the mass but had been adopted when it became necessary to provide for the administration to communicants as an occasional and exceptional detail in the service. In the old English uses the canon contained no mention of the communion of the people; but the Roman canon has a rubric after the communion of the priest, "If any are to be communicated let him communicate them." The manner in which this was done is gathered from the introductory directions of the Roman missal.[29] They prescribe that if any are to be communicated in the mass the priest after his own communion shall repeat for them the forms of confession and absolution with which the mass commences, and turning towards them shall say, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world"; then repeat three times the words, "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof, but speak the word only and my soul shall be healed"; and then give the sacrament to each, saying, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto eternal life." Then he returns to the altar and proceeds with the conclusion of the mass. These directions no doubt represent what had become customary in the English Church as in the Western churches generally. Hence in 1548 the "Order of the Communion in English," modelled upon the same lines, was issued; and this was incorporated in the service of 1549, as has been already noted.

4. The "Comfortable Words" — the Blessing — the Prayer of Inclination.

The call to "hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith," etc., introduced here in 1549 from the "Order" of the

[28] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 237–8.

[29] *Ritus celebrandi Missam*, x. 6.

previous year, corresponds precisely with the ancient benediction [30] and may perhaps have been purposely introduced as representing it. In the English rites that benediction had been used only by bishops. Like the "Comfortable Words" it consisted of three portions. That of the First Sunday in Advent in the Sarum Pontifical will serve as an example: "Almighty God, the Advent of whose only-begotten Son ye believe in as past and look for as to come, sanctify you with the enlightening of that Advent and enrich you with his blessing. Amen. Defend you from all adversity in the race-course of this present life and show Himself merciful to you in the judgment. Amen. That so being freed from all defilements of sins ye may with holy souls be found worthy of so great an Intercessor in running the way of the present life and may look without fear to the day of that awful scrutiny. Amen." This was followed by the unvarying conclusion: "Which may he vouchsafe to grant whose kingdom and dominion abideth for ever world without end. Amen. The blessing of God Almighty the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost descend upon you and remain with you always. Amen." [31]

St. Germain of Paris in the sixth century speaks of the lengthened benediction being used by bishops only, and its use is still maintained in the Church of Lyons.[32] But in some Gallican rites it was used generally,[33] and similarly the Mozarabic rite still preserves it, introducing it with the bidding, "Bow down yourselves for the blessing." It has disappeared from the Milanese rite. The Clementine liturgy defers it until after the post-communion prayer, where the deacon introduces it with the bidding to "bow down and be blessed"; [34] and in that position it occurs in several masses of the Leonine Sacramentary,[35] and also in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, the one entitling it *Ad Populum* [36] and the other *Super Populum*.[37] In the present Roman rite it survives on the ferial days of Lent, introduced by the deacon's bidding, "Bow down your heads unto God."

In the Eastern liturgies generally the parallel to the Western

[30] See above, p. 150.

[31] Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 198.

[32] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 222.

[33] Neale and Forbes, *Missale Gothicum*, 33–123; *Missale Gallicanum*, 156–199.

[34] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 26.

[35] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vetus*, I. 322, 325, 328, etc.

[36] *Ibid.* 495, 496, 498, etc.

[37] *Ibid* II. 23, 28, 29, etc.

benediction is the Prayer of Inclination, or bowing down, already noticed.[38] It precedes the *Sancta Sanctis* and the communion, thus occupying the same position as the benediction of the Gallican and Mozarabic rites. We find it here in the "Apostolic Tradition," where the deacon says, "As ye stand bow down your heads," and the bishop prays that God will bless and strengthen and protect them.[39] For the present Eastern usage the prayer of the liturgy of St. Basil may be cited: "Master and Lord, Father of mercies and God of all consolation: Bless those who have bowed down their heads to thee; sanctify, strengthen, stablish them; separate them from every evil deed, join them to every good deed, and make them worthy to partake uncondemned of these thy spotless and life-giving mysteries for remission of sins and for fellowship of the Holy Ghost."[40] In the early Syrian rites, and also in the Alexandrine St. Mark and the Coptic, the prayer is of the same character;[41] but in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom and the Armenian,[42] and also in the Ethiopic,[43] the prayer of inclination makes no allusion to the approaching reception. No prayer of inclination appears in the "Testament of our Lord," nor in the Persian liturgy; but this last repeats after consecration the primitive benediction which usually stands before *Sursum Corda*; and it adds also before the communion another form of benediction addressed by the priest to the deacon: "The grace of the Holy Ghost be with thee and with us and with the partakers thereof in the kingdom of heaven for ever. Amen."[44]

The Eastern liturgies almost universally insert after the consecration-prayers and before the Prayer of Inclination the salutation "Peace unto all," as has been noted above[45] in connection with the Peace. The Clementine rite has it here, although the prayer of inclination is deferred to a later position; and the Gregorian rites have it here and presently repeat it with the kiss of peace.[46] The Ambrosian has been noticed,[47] "The peace and the communication of our Lord Jesus Christ be ever with you": and this form, slightly varied, occurs also in the Celtic missals.[48] St. Germain gives a form almost identical with this as used by priests in the Gallican mass of

[38] P. 198.
[39] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 529 (ed. V.).
[40] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 411.
[41] *Ibid.* 24, 60, 100, 137, 183.
[42] *Ibid.* 392, 446.
[43] *Ibid.* 191, 235.
[44] *Ibid.* 297. See above, p. 149.
[45] P. 197.
[46] P. 193.
[47] P. 197.
[48] Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 170, 177, 242.

his day in place of the longer blessing used by bishops.[49] In the Mozarabic rite, where the fuller blessing is given by priests as well as bishops, this briefer formula does not occur here, but we find it incorporated with the blessing in connection with the kiss of peace before *Sursum Corda*.[50] From these facts it may be inferred that the Gallican form mentioned by St. Germain and found in the Ambrosian and Celtic missals belongs properly to the kiss of peace and was transferred with it to this later position after the consecration, where it coalesced with the primitive brief form, "Peace unto all," which survives separately in the Eastern rites. If that brief form suggested the present position as suitable for the kiss of peace when the Latin churches (except the Spanish) postponed it, this would account for the duplication of the formula in varied words which has been noted in the Gregorian rite.[51]

5. The Prayer before Reception.

The prayer immediately preceding the reception of communion, as it was placed by the compilers of the book of 1549, has its counterpart in the ancient liturgies. The opening clause resembles a prayer which has been introduced into the Roman missal for the priest's use before mass, and which may have been known to the compilers of 1549 though it is not found in the English missals: "To the table of thy most sweet feast, O merciful Lord Jesus Christ, I a sinner, not presuming on my own deserts but trusting to thy mercy and goodness, fear and tremble to approach." The petition is based upon the words of Daniel (ix. 18), "We do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses but for thy great mercies"; which words are used also in the Greek liturgies of St. James and St. Basil.[52] The next clause of the English prayer is based upon the words of the centurion, "Lord, I am not worthy," etc., with those of the Canaanite woman, "The dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table"; [53] the former of which passages is prescribed for use in administering to the people in the Roman missal[54] and was probably so used in England also. The latter part of the English prayer is based upon the priest's prayer in the Latin missals; and this is the direct source of the phrase, "Grant us so to eat the flesh of

[49] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 222.
[50] Above, p. 149.
[51] Above, p. 203.
[52] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 46, 405.
[53] Mt. viii. 8; xv. 27.
[54] Above, p. 201.

thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink his blood that we . . . may be made clean," etc. In the Sarum Use it is: "Grant me so worthily to take this sacred body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ that through it I may be made meet to receive remission of all my sins," etc. This prayer is found in all the English rites; but in that of York, which usually gives us the more ancient forms, it is in the plural: "Grant *us* . . . that *we* may be made meet," and "*our* sins," recognising the communion of the people.

This is a Gallican prayer, which we find substantially in a fixed prayer of the Mozarabic rite. It is amplified by a few additional phrases in the English missals and is but slightly varied in the Ambrosian. It is not in the Roman missal, which has in the same place a prayer addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ for deliverance from evil by his body and blood and for obedience to his commandments; and this is added as a second prayer in the English missals and the Ambrosian. It is noteworthy that the words of the Gallican prayer, "to receive remission of our sins and to be filled with the Holy Spirit," have a close parallel in the closing words of the prayer in the liturgy of St. Basil, "for remission of sins and for fellowship of the Holy Spirit." [55]

The very early form in the "Apostolic Tradition" is as follows: "And again we beseech the Almighty God, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to grant us to receive with blessing this holy mystery, and not to condemn any of us but give worthiness to all who partake of the reception of the holy mystery of the body and blood of Christ the Almighty Lord our God": and this is immediately followed by a similar prayer with more especial reference to the approaching blessing; [56] after which the prayer of inclination and the *Sancta Sanctis* follow. The former of these prayers appears in an expanded form in the same position in the Clementine rite [57] where the prayer of inclination is deferred.[58] Several of the Eastern rites, if not all, make reference to the approaching reception in the prayer of inclination before the *Sancta Sanctis*, and have no further prayer to that effect, but proceed at once like the Clementine rite to the administration. Thus the Persian has only the brief additional blessing already men-

[55] Above, p. 203.
[56] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 528 (ed. V.); Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 190 *sq.*
[57] Brightman, as above, 24.
[58] See above, p. 202

tioned;[59] nor have the Alexandrine and Coptic rites anything that corresponds with our Prayer of Humble Access. But such a prayer appears in the "Testament of our Lord."[60] and the present Ethiopic rite has inserted more than one.[61] Also the Byzantine rites and the Armenian have here a prayer addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ that He will "vouchsafe to make us partakers of his spotless body and precious blood, and all the people through us."[62] The Liturgy of St. James has a similar "prayer before partaking";[63] and we have a remarkable parallel to the words of our English prayer in the corresponding passage of the Syriac version of this liturgy: "Grant, O Lord, that our bodies may be hallowed by thy holy body and our souls cleansed (*purificentur*) by thy atoning blood."[64]

The distinction between the flesh of Christ offered for our body and His blood shed for our soul appears in several early writers.[65] It is traceable also in a prayer immediately before reception in the Hereford missal: "beseeching that the sins which from flesh and blood we have contracted the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ may make clean and his blood may wash away." It may be that this was the source from which the compilers of the Order of Communion in 1548 derived the expressions which they adopted in the prayer and also (as we shall see) those of their formula of administration.

6. The Fraction and Commixture.

The solemn breaking of the bread between the consecration and the communion, according to the order of the institution when our Lord (1) blessed and (2) brake and (3) gave it to the disciples, is prescribed in almost every ancient liturgy, and one of the final rubrics directs it thus in the English rite of 1549.[66] But the revisers of 1661 ordered the bread to be broken at the words "He brake it" in the recital of the institution.

After the fraction the ancient rites commonly prescribe the commixture, in which a portion of the broken bread is put into the cup and so mingled with the wine. The directions relating to these two ceremonies begin in connection with the elevation of the sacrament which has been already noticed as taking place at the end of the prayer of consecration.[67]

[59] P. 203.
[60] Cooper and Maclean, 76.
[61] Brightman, as above, 239–241.
[62] *Ibid.* 393 (*cf.* 341), 448.
[63] *Ibid.* 63.
[64] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.* II. 41; Brightman, 102.
[65] Freeman, *Divine Service*, II. 426–7.
[66] P. 56.
[67] P. 199.

Following upon the clause which has been shown to relate originally not to the eucharistic gifts but to offerings of other kinds, we have the further clause, "By him and with him and in him," etc. At this point the Roman rite and also the Ambrosian and the Stowe missal place the elevation which has been already noticed;[68] but in the English missals the directions which indicate the ancient elevation [69] occur a little later, during the sequel to the Lord's Prayer. It will be remembered that in the Roman rite the Lord's Prayer had been said after the fraction until Gregory the Great removed it to a somewhat earlier position after the prayer of consecration; and it appears that at Rome and elsewhere it was placed after the elevation; but in the English rites it was placed before the elevation, and while the priest was saying it the deacon was to stand at his side holding the paten as if in readiness for that ceremony.

Now in the final clause of the canon the frequent repetition of the sign of the cross demands an explanation. It is to be signed over the cup, not with the hand as in the preceding clause, but with the host, and five times, namely at the words relating to Christ, "by him and with him and in him," and at the words "Father Almighty" and "Holy Ghost." The Canterbury missal of the eleventh century has only the first three of these.[70] The Ambrosian has the same three and then adds three more, not as in the Gregorian rites but at the further words which were added in this missal, "empire, perpetuity and power." [71] This variation seems to show that no special significance was attached to the number.

The Stowe missal, which is of the ninth century, has no sign of the cross here; but the conclusion of the canon (probably only the words *per omnia saecula saeculorum*) is sung three times, and the rubric, which is in the Irish vernacular, proceeds: "Here the oblation is lifted over the chalice and half of the bread is dipped into the chalice"; then follows the verse, "Let thy mercy O Lord be upon us even as we shall hope in thee"; [72] and then, "Here the bread is broken." [73] In this rite therefore we have the elevation, and then at once the host is broken in two and one half is dipped into the cup, after which there is a further subdivision, and subsequently the usual commixture takes place with a formula which we find

[68] P. 199.
[69] P. 192, 199.
[70] *Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey*, ed. M. Rule, 44.
[71] See above, p. 188.
[72] Ps. xxxii. 22 (Vulgate).
[73] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 241; *cf.* 265.

with fuller developments in later missals but which appears here in its simplest form: "The mingling (*commixtio*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us health unto everlasting life."[74] The previous dipping of half the host into the cup is not explained, but probably it was for the purpose of signing the other half, as if in anticipation of the commixture, as we shall see it in some Eastern liturgies. This usage, commonly known as "intinction," disappears in the West after the date of the Stowe missal. Meanwhile it seems to give us a clue to the repeated signing of the cross with the host over the cup as directed at this point in the later missals. As if to compensate for the omission of the intinction there is the fivefold signing of the cross with the host over the cup, as specified elaborately in the English uses,[75] and in the Roman more simply, "three times from lip to lip of the cup" and "twice between the cup and the breast" of the celebrant. In the Leofric missal, written in Lotharingia early in the tenth century, while the crosses of the previous clause are marked, there are none in this clause; and in the absence of rubrics it is very possible that the usage of the Stowe missal was understood and followed here. But the first three crosses in this clause appear, as already mentioned, in the Canterbury missal written late in the eleventh century.

Reverting to the later English uses, where the traces of the ancient elevation occur during the supplementary clause appended to the Lord's Prayer, the rubric directs that while the priest says the final words of that clause he shall break the host into three portions. Then at the singing of the *Agnus* he is to put one portion into the cup and to say the prayer "May this holy commixture . . . be to me and to all who receive it," etc. It should be noted that while the Sarum and Hereford uses have this in the singular, the York use like the Roman has it in the plural, "Be to *us* and to all," etc., having the communion of the people in view.

In the Gallican Church the ceremony of the fraction became developed and exaggerated, and in the year 567 the second council of Tours (canon iii.) forbade the custom of arranging the portions in a fanciful order after subdivision, and directed that they should be placed in the form of a cross.[76] In the Mozarabic rite the two portions of the host are subdivided, the

[74] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 242.
[75] P. 192.
[76] Bruns, *Canones*, II. 226.

one into five parts and the other into four, the nine being designated the Incarnation (*corporatio*), the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Epiphany (*apparitio*), the Passion, the Death, the Resurrection, the Glory and the Kingdom; seven are arranged in the form of a cross and the last two are placed on the right of it, the last one being put afterwards into the cup. The ancient Irish Church had a complicated arrangement, the division being into nine portions on ordinary Sundays, but only five on ordinary weekdays, seven and eight on lesser festivals, eleven and twelve on greater festivals, thirteen on the Sundays of Eastertide and Ascension, and as many as sixty-five on the three festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.[77] In the Ambrosian rite the Roman usage has displaced any ceremonial of this kind which may formerly have existed; but immediately after the elevation already described the priest breaks the bread over the cup, saying, "Thy body is broken, O Christ; the cup is blessed"; and then breaking off a fragment he says, "Thy blood be unto us always for life and for the saving of our souls, O our God"; and putting the fragment into the cup he adds, "May this commixture of the consecrated body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who eat and receive for profit unto life and eternal joy."

No directions either for fraction or commixture are given in the "Apostolic Tradition" or in the "Testament of our Lord," nor are they in the Clementine liturgy nor in that of St. Basil. In the Greek liturgy of St. Mark and in the Persian no commixture is ordered, but the priest is to break the bread and then to make a further division of it for the communion of the people.[78] A simple direction for the fraction is given in the book of Sarapion[79] and in the baptismal mass of the Sahidic Canons.[80] The Armenian rite directs the priest to break the bread and put a portion into the cup.[81] The liturgy of St. Chrysostom directs a division into four portions which are marked with the letters IS. XS. NI KA. ("Jesus Christ conquers"), and these are to be placed on the paten in the form of a cross, the first of them being put into the cup; after which follows the anomalous custom of pouring some hot water into the cup.[82] The liturgy of St. James in its Greek form appears to be developed here under Byzantine influence,

[77] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 220.
[78] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 138, 290–293.
[79] Ed. Wordsworth, 65.
[80] Brightman, as above, 464.
[81] *Ibid.* 449.
[82] *Ibid.* 393 *sq.*

directing the priest to dip one portion into the cup and sign the other with it and then to break them again and put a portion into every cup;[83] and one version of the Syriac form gives similar directions.[84]

The words said at the commixture in the Armenian liturgy, "The fulness of the Holy Ghost," and in that of St. Chrysostom, "The fulness of the cup of faith and of the Holy Ghost," seem intended to signify that the consecration as effected by the Epiclesis is completed by this ceremony. That signification is equally clear in the formula said in the Greek St. James: "The union of the holy body and the precious blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ: it is united and hallowed and finished in the name," etc.[85] Here we have a close resemblance to the Roman formula: "This mingling (*commixtio*) and hallowing (*consecratio*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive it for eternal life": which in the Ambrosian has become "The mingling of the consecrated body and blood," etc., and in the old English rites "This most sacred (*sacrosancta*) mingling of the body and blood," etc. The Mozarabic connects the clause immediately with *Sancta Sanctis*: "Holy things to holy, and may the union (*conjunctio*) of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us," etc.; the words "and the blood" being strangely omitted, perhaps in careless revision. Here *Sancta Sanctis* takes the place of the omitted *consecratio*, the sense of the words being altered; and in some ancient Gallican forms it is changed accordingly to *Sancta cum sanctis*, while a Rheims missal of 1491 reads "Holy things with holy, and may the union (*conjunctio*) of the body and blood," etc.[86] The evidence therefore points to the conclusion that the commixture is a custom of very early date and was probably practised in rites where, as in the Clementine, there is no rubric directing it; and its purpose was to emphasise the fact that the bread and the cup are inseparable as forming together one sacrifice, and thus the sign which betokens their unity forms in a manner the completion of the consecration. The same meaning seems to be implied in the Ambrosian formula already cited, where the priest divides over the cup the fragment for the commixture, saying: "Thy body is broken, O Christ; the cup is blessed."

[83] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 62 *sq.*
[84] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, I. 41.
[85] Brightman, as above, 62.
[86] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 673.

The thought of the consecration of the sacrifice being thus completed may be illustrated further by a coincidence which seems worth observing. In the Mozarabic rite the portion which is set apart for the commixture is designated the "Kingdom." In the Ambrosian, where the sign of the cross is made six times with the host over the cup in the place (as we have seen reason to suppose) of the ancient intinction, the last three of these crosses are made as the priest speaks the words peculiar to this rite attributing to God "Empire, perpetuity and power." And in the Byzantine rite the four portions into which the bread is broken are marked as setting forth the truth that Christ has conquered. We have already connected this with our Lord's own declaration of victory at the institution of the Eucharist.[87]

It was natural that further symbolical meanings should become attached to the commixture. It is usually explained as setting forth the reunion of our Lord's body and soul after the resurrection, the blood representing the soul.[88] The Monophysite liturgies regarded it as representing the union of the two natures in Christ; and thus in some versions of the Syriac St. James it is accompanied by the words, "Thou hast united, O Lord, thy divinity with our humanity and our humanity with thy divinity";[89] and similar phrases are used in the Coptic and Ethiopic rites.[90]

The commixture is entirely independent of the "Intinction" or mixing of the bread in the cup in order to administer both kinds together to the communicants. This is the form of administration used in the Constantinopolitan rite, where St. Chrysostom is said to have introduced the use of a spoon;[91] as is the custom of the Syrian Monophysites prescribed in the Syriac liturgy of St. James; and it is also the custom of the Armenians, though they administer without a spoon.[92] The Coptic and Ethiopic rites are like the English of 1661 in ordering the fraction to be made at the words "He brake" in the recital of the institution.[93] The former of these directs the commixture in the usual place;[94] and it is perhaps implied, though not actually mentioned, in the Ethiopic; for both these

[87] See pp. 12, 209.
[88] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 582. *Cf.* Leviticus xvii. 11.
[89] Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*, II. 41.
[90] Brightman, as above, 185, 239.
[91] Neale, *Eastern Church*, 524.
[92] Brightman, as above, 102 *sq.*, 452; *cf.* 573, 582.
[93] *Ibid.* 177, 232.
[94] *Ibid.* 184.

rites, like the Greek St. James and the Persian, direct the priest to dip one portion into the cup and sign the other with it; perhaps merely as preliminary to the commixture.[95]

7. The Agnus Dei—the "One Holy"—the Anthem before Reception.

The revisers of 1549 were keeping strictly on the lines of ancient precedent in appointing two passages which "the clerks shall sing," the one "in the communion time" and the other "when the communion is ended." The one is the *Agnus Dei* and the other represents the *Communio* of the Latin rite. But in the Latin rite the former belongs properly to the ceremonial breaking of the bread while the other is after the reception as the revisers retained it. The *Agnus Dei* was originally sung by the choir at the fraction; and being afterwards ordered to be said by the priest it happened that in the Roman missal it preceded the prayer for the commixture whereas in the English missals it follows after that prayer.[96]

The simple form, "O Lamb of God that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us" (derived from St. John i. 29), was used liturgically from very early times; but it appears to have been said only once on each occasion until in the tenth century it became usual to repeat it three times; and about the same period it became usual to end it with "Grant us thy peace" at the third repetition.[97] It is not found in the strictly Gallican rites; in the Ambrosian it has only been introduced in masses for the departed, and in the Gregorian rites it is not said on Easter Eve: hence we may conclude that it does not belong to the earliest age. It does not occur in the Eastern rites. Probably the nearest approach to the use of it is in the Office of the Prothesis in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, where the priest, when he cuts the bread the first time, is directed to say: "Sacrificed is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world."[98]

The Ambrosian hymn of the fraction (*confractorium*) is simply a verse taken usually from the Psalms or the Prophets, and sometimes from the New Testament. The Mozarabic anthem "at the breaking of the bread" (*ad confractionem panis*) is only appointed for the Sundays in Lent and a few other days,

[95] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 62, 184, 240, 292; *cf.* 582.

[96] Gasquet, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, 213, *n.* 2.

[97] See authorities in Chambers, *Divine Service*, 380; Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 109.

[98] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 357.

and it is of a more elaborate character. That of the First Sunday in Lent will serve as an example: "He that cometh to me shall not hunger: he that believeth in me shall never thirst. ℣. I am the light of the world and he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness but shall have the light of life. ℟. He that cometh, etc. ℣. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me and I in him. ℣. Glory and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost world without end. Amen. ℟. He that liveth and abideth in me shall never die." But at Eastertide and until the Ascension a remarkable anthem takes the place of this.[99] It is sung immediately after the sequel to the Lord's Prayer and before the *Sancta Sanctis*. The priest is to hold over the cup the ninth portion ("the Kingdom") of the bread[1] and to say three times, "The lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath conquered, Alleluia"; the choir responding each time, "Thou that sittest above the cherubin, root of David, Alleluia"; and after this the priest drops the fragment into the cup saying the *Sancta Sanctis* with the additional formula already noticed. Referring to this passage in the Apocalypse (V. 5) where it is immediately followed by the appearance of the Lamb, we may fairly infer that there was originally some connection between the Spanish anthem and the *Agnus Dei* of the Gregorian rites.

Before proceeding to look at the corresponding hymns in the Eastern liturgies it should be remembered that no mention of such hymnody is made by Justin Martyr, nor is it otherwise traceable in the earliest times.[2] The book of Sarapion has none. Probably the first appearance of it is in the "Apostolic Tradition," which directs, "Then shall they raise an hymn of praise and the people shall go in to receive," and in the Sahidic Canons, "Let them sing while they are giving [the communion] until they have finished all the congregation";[3] but no words are prescribed.

For the germ of the earliest existing hymn at this point we may look to the primitive response to the *Sancta Sanctis* already noticed.[4] The simple formula, "One holy one Lord Jesus Christ unto glory of God the Father," appears in the

[99] It seems to be by an accident that both are appointed for the feast of Corpus Christi. *Miss. Moz.*, ed. Leslie, 267.

[1] See above, p. 209.

[2] See above, p. 21.

[3] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 529 (ed. V.); Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 192, 462,

[4] P. 199.

Byzantine and Armenian liturgies.[5] St. Cyril gives it without the final words, "Unto glory of God the Father,"[6] but the general consensus of the liturgies is sufficient evidence that he is abbreviating it. The full formula occurs in the Greek St. James with an addition, "To whom be glory unto the ages of ages."[7] Similarly the Clementine rite adds, "Blessed unto the ages, Amen," and appends also the song of the angels, "Glory to God in the highest," etc., and also the "Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is he that cometh," etc.;[8] this having been inserted here and not in the usual place after the Tersanctus hymn. In the "Testament of our Lord" the hymn is merely "Let the name of the Lord be blessed for ever"; and here also "Blessed is he that cometh," etc., is added.[9]

The "One Holy" is developed into an expression of faith in the Holy Trinity in the "Apostolic Tradition," thus: "One Holy Father, one Holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit"; [10] and this is followed by the Syriac liturgy of St. James and the Egyptian and the Persian rites.[11] The liturgy of St. Mark adds, "Unto unity of the Holy Ghost"; [12] and with this clue before us we recognise the identity of this early hymn with the last clause of the Western *Gloria in Excelsis*, where it is changed into an address to Christ, "Thou only art holy," etc. The Persian rite adds, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost world without end, Amen"; [13] and the Armenian, preserving the primitive formula, adds afterwards the Persian variety of it with the appended "Glory," etc.[14]

It is possible that as the primitive formula, "One holy one Lord Jesus Christ," etc., became in several Eastern rites an ascription to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, so in the West it became changed into the address, "O Lamb of God," etc., which occupies practically the same position in the Latin rite.

8. The Reception and the Formula of Administration.

In the Western Church the custom of not administering the cup to the communicants had begun in the twelfth century; but

[5] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 341, 351, 393, 447.
[6] *Catech. Mystag.* V. 19 (above p. 24.)
[7] Brightman, as above, 62.
[8] *Ibid.* 24.
[9] Cooper and Maclean, 74.
[10] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 529 (ed. V.).
[11] Brightman, as above, 101, 138, 184, 191, 237, 296.
[12] *Ibid.* 138.
[13] *Ibid.* 296.
[14] *Ibid.* 447 *sq.*

it did not become usual in England until after the middle of the fifteenth century.[15] In the Order of Communion of 1548 the administration of the cup was restored.

The "Apostolic Tradition" and the "Testament of our Lord" do not prescribe any form of words to be used at the administration; nor does the first Roman Order. But it is evident that at a very early date it was customary to administer with the words, "The body of Christ," "The blood of Christ."[16] The former appears in the treatise *De Sacramentis*;[17] and we have both of them in the Canons of Hippolytus[18] and in the Clementine liturgy.[19] All these authorities agree in directing the recipient to say *Amen* after each. These simple words of administration gradually developed into fuller forms with much variation, showing that the officiant was allowed considerable liberty in amplifying them. Thus the Clementine liturgy, after "the blood of Christ," adds "the cup of life," and the Sahidic Canons give the words, "This is the bread of heaven, the body of Christ Jesus," "This is the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord."[20] Similarly the Arabic Didascalia has "This is the body of Christ," "This is the blood of Christ, this is the cup of life."[21]

The medieval uses of the English Church provide only for the communion of the priest. They all, like the Roman, agree in using the words "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ" and "the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ"; while the additional words are varied, but always ending "unto everlasting life, Amen," except in the first that we have to notice. In the Sarum missal it is, "The body . . . be to me a sinner the way and the life"; in that of York, "be to me eternal healing (*remedium*) unto everlasting life, Amen"; in that of Hereford, "be healing to my soul . . ."; and in the Roman, "guard (*custodiat*) my body and soul. . . ." For the cup we have in the Sarum use, "The body and blood . . . be profitable to me a sinner for eternal healing unto everlasting life. Amen." York has a formula corresponding to this, but supplementary, prefixing to it a special formula for the cup, thus: "The blood . . . preserve (*conservet*) me unto everlasting life.

[15] Chambers, *Divine Worship*, 398 *sq.*
[16] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 375.
[17] IV. v. § 25 (P.L. xvi. 445).
[18] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 534 (ed. I,).
[19] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 25.
[20] *Ibid.* 464.
[21] Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, 276, 344.

Amen. The body and blood . . . guard (*custodiat*) my body and soul. . . .'' At Hereford we have '' The blood . . . preserve (*conservet*) my soul . . . ''; which is the Roman form, except that there we have '' guard '' while at Hereford as at York we have '' preserve.'' This formula is mentioned in the life of St. Gregory the Great by John the Deacon, *c.* 875.[22]

The formula for the cup in the Sarum use and the supplementary third formula at York are similar to the Spanish, but there it stands alone, and it is said as in the others before the reception of the cup: '' The body and blood . . . guard my body and soul unto everlasting life ''; and the same appears in a Gregorian Sacramentary of the twelfth century.[23] A similar formula stands alone in other ancient missals, as in the Winchester missal of 1061 known as '' The Rede Book of Derby,'' [24] and in the Scottish missal of the same period at Drummond Castle.[25] The pontifical of Prudentius bishop of Troyes in the ninth century affords a parallel with the York use, having the two special formulas for the body and the blood followed by a third formula relating to both together.[26] The Milanese has a similar conjoint formula at the reception of the cup, but the Roman formula, '' The body,'' *etc.*, precedes it. This conjoint formula, relating both to the body and the blood, points to the custom of administering communion in both kinds together which was common from about the seventh to the twelfth centuries; [27] and when that custom was dropped, some rites, as the Mozarabic, still retained this formula alone; the Milanese rite and that of Sarum retained it as the second, prefixing another to it for the bread; the York use retained it as supplementary, prefixing two others; while the Roman, followed by Hereford, disused it entirely and substituted the two separate formulas.

The resemblance of the Sarum rite to the Mozarabic in regard to this formula is the more remarkable when we note that both of them contain almost identical words preceding the two receptions. The Mozarabic words are: '' Hail for ever, most holy flesh of Christ, the sum of delight unto eternity. Hail for ever, heavenly drink, which to me before all and above all art sweet.''

[22] In *Patr. Lat.* lxxv. 103.
[23] Chambers, *Divine Worship*, 398.
[24] Warren, *Leofric Missal*, 63.
[25] *Drummond Missal*, ed. Forbes, 23.
[26] Cited in Chambers, *Divine Worship*, 398.
[27] *Ibid.*

A direct formula of administration to the people as used at Rome in the eighth century is supplied by Paul the Deacon (*c.* 780) in his Life of St. Gregory: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ profit thee for the remission of all sins and for everlasting life." [28] Several ancient Celtic missals also, from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, supply such a formula of administration in the proper place in the mass instead of one for the priest alone. Those known as the Book of Deer, the Book of Dimma, and the Book of Mulling have formulas relating to the body and blood together, like those already noticed: "The body and (*or* with) the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul (*or* be health to thee) unto everlasting life." [29] But the St. Gall MS., the Antiphonary of Bangor, and the Stowe Missal have a different formula: "The sacred body of the Lord and the Saviour's blood take to you (*sumite vobis*) unto everlasting life." [30] Probably such a formula was known to the revisers of 1552; and taken in connection with the Lord's own words at the Institution of the Eucharist it may have suggested their new formula, "Take and eat this," etc.

The introductory rubrics of the Roman missal direct the priest when administering to each person to use the same words that are prescribed for his own communion, but substituting "thy soul" for "my soul." No rule is given in the English missals; but in administering to the sick the Sarum formula was: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ protect (*custodiat*) thy body and soul unto eternal life." [31] The compilers of the Order of Communion in 1548, in using the word "preserve," adopted whether intentionally or not what is more strictly the phraseology of the York and Hereford uses. They would also be acquainted with the conjoint formula found in the York use and the Mozarabic and elsewhere, "The body and the blood . . . preserve my body and soul." Hence, as it would seem, they framed their formulas, "The body . . . preserve thy body" and "The blood . . . preserve thy soul"; and hence again the use of the words "thy body and soul" in both cases may have suggested itself to the compilers of 1549.

In the Eastern rites the brief forms which appear in the Clementine liturgy, already noticed, are variously extended. The early Alexandrine St. Mark gives them thus: "The holy body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ," and

[28] In *Patr. Lat.* lxxv. 52.
[29] Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, 164, 170, 173.
[30] *Ibid.* 178, 192, 243.
[31] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. 114.

"The precious blood of our Lord," etc. (as before).[32] No formula of administration is prescribed in the liturgy of St. James in its Greek form, nor in the older forms of the Byzantine liturgy.[33] But the Syriac St. James directs, "When he communicates the people he says, 'To true believers for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins for ever,' and he that receives says *Amen.*"[34] The Armenian formula is: "The body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ be to thee for salvation and for a guide to eternal life.[35] It should be noted that in both these liturgies the two kinds are administered together. The Coptic Liturgy directs: "When he communicates any one he shall say, 'This is in truth the body and blood of Emmanuel our God, Amen,' and the communicant shall say, 'Amen, I believe.'"[36] The Ethiopic has "The bread of life which came down from heaven, the body of Christ," and in other versions of it there are varied forms; while the formula for the cup is, "This is the cup of life that came down from heaven: this is the blood of Christ," and in each case the recipient is to say Amen.[37] The Persian rite has a formula addressing each person according to his degree: "The body of our Lord to the discreet priest, *or* to the deacon of God, *or* to the circumspect believer: for the pardon of offences": "The precious blood for the pardon of offences, the spiritual feast for everlasting life, to the discreet priest," etc.[38] The words of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom as now used in the Orthodox Eastern Church are: "The servant of God *N.* receiveth the precious and holy body and blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ unto remission of his sins and unto eternal life."[39]

9. Additional Consecration.

The direction for the consecration of additional bread and wine when required, inserted after the words of administration in 1661, restored in an extended form the final rubric of the Order of Communion of 1548 which provided for the consecration of additional wine; and this was based upon the cautels of the Sarum missal which directed that "If after the consecration of the body the priest finds that there is no wine in the cup, the

[32] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 140.
[33] *Ibid.* 63, 341, 351, 411.
[34] *Ibid.* 104.
[35] *Ibid.* 452.
[36] *Ibid.* 186.
[37] *Ibid.* 240–1.
[38] *Ibid.* 298.
[39] *Ibid.* 396.

host shall be neatly replaced in the corporal and when the cup is duly prepared let him begin from this place, Likewise after supper." The present Roman missal makes a similar provision in case by any extraordinary mischance the consecrated host should disappear: "Then let another be consecrated, beginning at that place, *Who the day before he suffered*";[40] and this is followed by a direction like that of Sarum if it is found that there is no wine in the cup. Rules to the same effect were laid down by several Gallican synods from the close of the twelfth century onwards.[41] But it does not appear that any similar directions are given in the Eastern churches.

10. The Communio or Post-Communion Anthem.

The anthem known as the *Communio* in the Sarum use is a verse taken most commonly from the Psalter but occasionally from some other book of the Old Testament or sometimes from the New Testament, and often slightly varied or expanded as in the example cited[42] for the feast of the Epiphany. In the Roman and the other old English rites the *Communio* is similar to that of Sarum and for the most part identical with it.

There is no suggestion of psalmody after the people have communicated in either of the earliest Church Orders, unless it be in the "Testament of our Lord," where the deacon's bidding to the thanksgiving-prayer after reception[43] closes with the words, "raising a doxology to the Lord our God";[44] but perhaps the phrase merely relates to the thanksgiving-prayer itself, the latter part of which is a very full doxology.

To trace the history of the Western *Communio* we may notice that St. Augustine speaks of "hymns from the Book of Psalms" being sung in the Church of Carthage "while what has been offered is distributed to the people."[45] Accordingly the first Roman Order in the eighth century mentions the "Antiphon at Communion" which was to be closed with *Gloria Patri* when all had communicated.[46] In later times it was sung after the Communion was finished, and Durandus in the thirteenth century says that on this account it was called the Post-communion;[47] but afterwards the missals gave this designation to the prayer which followed it. Hence the revisers of 1549 were reverting to older usage in applying the term

[40] *De defectibus*, iii. 7.
[41] See Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 761.
[42] P. 195.
[43] See below, p. 223.
[41] Cooper and Maclean, 77.
[45] *Retract.* II. xi. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxii. 634).
[46] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 144.
[47] *Rationale*, iv. c. 56.

"Post-communion" to the anthem. But the passages which they substituted were almost all hortatory, and none of them have any definite reference to Holy Communion.

In the Ambrosian rite the corresponding anthem is the *Transitorium*, so called from being sung while the recipients are passing to communicate. Similarly in the Mozarabic it is the hymn "at the approach" (*ad accedendum* or *ad accedentes*); but here we have an additional anthem, the *Communio*, which is sung, like that of the Gregorian rite, after the reception.

The Ambrosian *Transitorium* is taken occasionally from the Psalms and frequently from the New Testament; but in most cases instead of a scriptural passage it is a survival of early extemporised forms, and sometimes it is a prayer rather than praise. That of Easter is of interest: "Approach and eat, Hallelujah: take the body of the Lord, Hallelujah; taste and see, Hallelujah, that the Lord is gracious, Hallelujah." This at once recalls the communion hymn, *Sancti venite*, in the Irish Antiphonary of Bangor of the seventh century, "Come near, ye saints, and take the body of the Lord."[48]

The usual Mozarabic *Communio* is the verse, "Refreshed with the body and blood of Christ we praise thee, O God, Alleluia," which is also in the Irish missals.[49] But in Lent the Mozarabic substitutes another: "Our mouth is filled with joy and our tongue with rejoicing" (Psalm cxxvi. 2).

A hymn or anthem corresponding with the *Communio*, and consisting of a Psalm or part of a Psalm, is added in many of the Eastern liturgies. That of Jerusalem, as described by St. Cyril in 348, had "Taste and see that the Lord is gracious" (Ps. xxxiv. 8), following after the *Sancta Sanctis* and the response,[50] just as we find them in the Greek liturgy of St. James and the Armenian.[51] The whole of this Psalm xxxiv., "I will bless the Lord at all times," etc., is said here in the Clementine rite;[52] and it would seem that the Mozarabic also had originally the same Psalm, for the *Antiphona ad accedentes* most commonly used in verse 8, "Taste and see," etc., followed by the first and last verses and the *Gloria*, each with three alleluias. Verses 1 and 8 are used also in the Stowe Missal,[53] and the latter verse in the Antiphonary of Bangor,

[48] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 187.
[49] *Ibid.* 165, 171, 173, 192, 225.
[50] *Catech. Mystag.* V. 19, 20 (above, p. 24).
[51] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 63, 450.
[52] *Ibid.* 25.
[53] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 243.

intermixed in both cases with other passages.[54] The same verse 8 is also the *Communio* for the eighth Sunday after Trinity in the Gregorian Missals. The Gallican hymn appears to have been reduced to three verses in the time of St. Germain, who calls it the *Trecanum* and explains it as representing the mystery of the Holy Trinity.[55]

In the Egyptian liturgies we have Psalm cl.,[56] and in the Persian we have parts of Psalm xlvii. (*vv.* 5, 8), "God is gone up," etc.[57] The verse used in the Orthodox Eastern Church is Psalm xxviii. 10, "Save, O God, thy people, and bless thine inheritance,"[58] which has come down from very early times, being found in the form of liturgy contained in Book II. of the Apostolic Constitutions[59] and in the Armenian rite.[60] Other verses and ascriptions of praise are added in many of the Eastern rites.

In the revision of the English rite in 1552, the post-communion anthem being omitted and the *Agnus Dei* being incorporated into the *Gloria in Excelsis*, this embodies both the communion and post-communion hymns in one. For its position after the post-communion prayer and immediately before the dismissal there is probably no ancient precedent. Perhaps the closest parallel that can be found is in the Byzantine and kindred rites where a hymn follows immediately after the dismissal. Thus in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom we have "Glory to thee, O Lord, glory to thee," and the people respond with the *Gloria Patri*.[61] In the Armenian rite the choir sing Psalm xxxiv. with *Gloria Patri*, the deacon beginning it while the priest gives the blessing.[62] The hymn at this point in the Greek liturgy of St. James deserves special notice: "From glory to glory going forth we hymn thee the Saviour of our souls: Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost now and ever and unto the ages of ages; we hymn thee the Saviour of our souls."[63]

11. The Ablutions.

Before the variable post-communion prayer, as previously before the variable offertory prayer, the Latin missals provide a series of fixed prayers. First of all there is in the Sarum rite

[54] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 192.
[55] *Expos. Brevis*, Ep. I. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 90).
[56] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 138, 185.
[57] *Ibid.* 297.
[58] *Ibid.* 341, 352, 396.
[59] *Ibid.* 30.
[60] *Ibid.* 453.
[61] *Ibid.* 398.
[62] *Ibid.* 457.
[63] *Ibid.* 67.

immediately after the reception of communion a prayer which is not found in the other English missals nor in the Roman, and which will be more suitably noticed below in connection with the variable post-communion prayer. Those which follow it are connected with the ablutions.

The first of these, beginning "What we have taken with our mouth," etc., and occurring in all the English uses and also in the Roman, is an ancient post-communion prayer, found also in the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries.[64] This is said after the first ablution. The next, "May this communion," etc., is said after the second ablution in all the English rites, and is practically another version of the former prayer. But here in the Roman rite, as in the Mozarabic, there is a fuller and more detailed prayer relating to reception; and this has been appended to the preceding prayer in the Hereford use. The York use has no third prayer. But that of Sarum has another peculiar to itself, "We adore the sign," etc., which is said after the ablutions are completed.

The earliest notices of a ceremonial rinsing of the vessels belong to the latter part of the eleventh century, and it became general in the West in the thirteenth.[65] The Sarum and Hereford missals, as also the Roman and the Ambrosian, give precise directions for it, but that of York only makes brief allusion to it. It does not appear in the Mozarabic rubrics, though it was used in practice.[66] Nor does it appear in the Egyptian rites,[67] nor in the Persian,[68] nor in the Armenian;[69] but we have evidence that the custom was practised in the East; for the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites prescribes it with very full directions, though not until after the dismissal of the people.[70]

In the absence of any mention of the custom either in the Mozarabic liturgy or in those of the Orthodox Eastern Church the compilers of the English book of 1549 may have felt that it was unnecessary to prescribe it.

12. The Post-Communion Prayer.

The prayer mentioned in the last note as said immediately after the reception of communion and before the ablutions, and

[64] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, I. 366, 525.
[65] Simmons, *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 303.
[66] *Miss. Moz.*, ed. Leslie, 574.
[67] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 142, 192, 244.
[68] *Ibid.* 305.
[69] *Ibid* 455.
[70] *Ibid.* 106.

peculiar to the Sarum use, is originally a private prayer of the priest. It demands particular notice on account of its opening clause: "I give thee thanks, . . . Almighty everlasting God, who hast refreshed me with the most sacred body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." This was well reproduced in the opening words of the prayer of 1549, now the second post-communion prayer: "Almighty everliving God, we most heartily thank thee for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us . . . with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ."

But the proper *Post-communio* of the Latin missals is a prayer varying like the collect and the secret. It has been already noticed that its designation was sometimes applied to the communion anthem and sometimes to this prayer which was otherwise called the "prayer of the completion" (*ad complendum*).[71] That of the second Sunday in Advent, common to the English missals and to the Roman, has points of resemblance to that of 1549: "Refreshed with the food and drink of spiritual nourishment, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord, to teach us by the partaking of this mystery to despise the earthly things and to love the heavenly." The varying post-communions of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites are of similar character to those of the Gregorian rites.

Going back to the "Apostolic Tradition" we have here a prayer which at once recalls the opening clause of our English prayer: "God Almighty, . . . we give thee thanks for that thou hast granted us to partake of thy holy mystery," etc.[72] This is amplified largely in the Clementine Liturgy;[73] and in the "Testament of our Lord" it becomes a deacon's bidding, "Let us give thanks," etc., followed by an extended prayer to be said by the bishop.[74] In the present liturgy of St. Chrysostom the note of thanksgiving has disappeared.[75] The following is the prayer in the liturgy of St. Basil: "We thank thee, O Lord our God, for the partaking of thy holy spotless immortal and heavenly mysteries which thou hast given to us for the well-being and sanctification and healing of our souls and bodies: Do thou, O Ruler of all things, grant that the communion of the holy body and blood of thy Christ may be to us for faith unshamed, for love unfeigned, for fulness of

[71] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 390 *sq.*
[72] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 529 (ed. V.); Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 192
[73] Brightman, 25.
[74] Cooper and Maclean, 77.
[75] *Ibid.* 397.

wisdom, for healing of soul and body, for repulse of every enemy, for fulfilment of thy commandments, for an acceptable defence at the judgment seat of thy Christ.[76] There was a prayer of similar character in St. Chrysostom's liturgy in the ninth century,"[77] as there is also in the liturgy of St. James, both Greek and Syriac, in the Egyptian rites, the Persian and the Armenian.[78]

In most of the Eastern rites the deacon says a litany while the priest says the prayer privately; and the Ambrosian rite preserves what appears to be the relic of such a litany, for the post-communion is followed by a threefold *Kyrie Eleison*.

The concluding prayer which follows after the formal dismissal in all the Gregorian rites and in the Ambrosian is practically an additional post-communion prayer and therefore demands notice here. It obviously belonged to the private prayers of the celebrant and it is a late addition to the service;[79] but it forms a precedent for the action of the revisers of 1552 in using as an alternative post-communion the prayer which had previously been appended to the memorial oblation after the consecration. The similarity of its thought and expressions to those of the medieval prayer is remarkable. In the English we have: "We thy humble servants entirely desire [thee] . . . to accept this our sacrifice, etc., . . . to grant that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ . . . we and all thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion; and . . . accept this our bounden duty and service," etc. In the Latin: "Well pleasing to thee be the obedience of my service. . . . Grant that this sacrifice which I though unworthy have offered . . . may be acceptable to thee and may be propitious for me and for those for whom I have offered it."

13. The Dismissal.

The conclusion of the liturgy in early times was merely a formal dismissal. The Sarum and Hereford uses have the same form as the Roman: "Go, it is the dismissal" (*Ite missa est*): the word *missa* being simply an ancient form for *missio*[80]: but in the York use this formula is found only in later copies.[81]

[76] Cooper and Maclean, 411.
[77] *Ibid.* 342.
[78] *Ibid.* 68, 104, 141, 186, 243, 301, 454.
[79] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 392.
[80] *Ibid.* 392.
[81] *Miss. Ebor.*, ed. Henderson, I. 209 *sq.*

It probably suggested the words of the English rubric introduced in 1548, directing the priest to "let the people depart" with the blessing.

The Mozarabic rite omits the *Ite*, the ferial formula being "It is dismissal (*missa est*); in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ let us complete it with peace"; but in the festal service it is, "The solemnities (*solemnia*) are ended, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, be our vow accepted with peace"; and in either case there is the response, "Thanks be to God."[82] An old Celtic usage appearing in the Stowe Missal shows that *missa* had acquired the sense of "Mass" in the ninth century, the formula being "The mass is done" (*missa acta est*), with response "In peace."[83] In the Ambrosian rite the deacon says "Let us go forth in peace," with response "in the name of Christ," and "Let us bless the Lord," with response "Thanks be to God."

The liturgy of the "Apostolic Tradition" and the Clementine rite alike end abruptly "The deacon shall say, Go forth in peace," with no further addition;[84] and either this formula or its equivalent "In peace let us depart" appears in all the important Eastern liturgies with the exception of the Coptic and the Persian.[85] But there has been a very general tendency to add a final blessing either before or after this concluding formula, and it is usually independent of the more important blessing already noticed before reception.[86]

Thus in the "Apostolic Tradition," when the thanksgiving after reception has been said and before the direction to depart is given, the priest is to say "The Lord be with you all," and there follows the "Laying on of hands after they have received," with a precatory blessing, "Lord eternal almighty . . . bless thy servants and thy handmaids, protect and help and succour them."[87] It has been observed[88] that the Clementine rite has its prayer of inclination deferred to this point before the dismissal; where also it amplifies the usual formula introducing that prayer: "Bow down unto God through his Christ and be blessed."[89] And in the Alexandrine St. Mark the primitive blessing which elsewhere precedes

[82] Ed. Leslie, 547 *sq.*
[83] Warren, *Celtic Church*, 244.
[84] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 530 (ed. V.); Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 27, 193.
[85] Brightman, 187, 304.
[86] P. 202.
[87] Duchesne, as above, 529; *cf.* Brightman, 192.
[88] P. 202.
[89] Brightman, as above, 26.

Sursum Corda is transferred to this place.[90] The Coptic directs that the priest "shall bless them and give them the dismissal and shall end with reading the blessing,"[91] the formula being presumably understood from the liturgy of St. Mark since none is specified here. The liturgy of St. James has a second prayer of inclination at this point, introduced in the usual way; after which in the Greek form the deacon proclaims "In the peace of Christ let us go," and the people respond, "In the name of the Lord: Lord bless us," as if asking for a further blessing. The Syrian form makes this clear; for there the deacon says "Bless O Lord," and the priest says a prayer beginning "Bless us all"; then adds "Depart in peace, brethren and beloved," and this is extended into a lengthy commendation.[92] Similarly the Ethiopic rite has a second prayer of inclination with a blessing before the formula of dismissal, and after it there is another prolonged blessing in a precatory form.[93]

Prayers of the same character are added after the dismissal in the Byzantine rites;[94] and the Persian, which omits the formula of dismissal, has similar prayers in the same position.[95] In the Armenian the primitive formula is combined with a blessing: "Be ye blessed with the grace of the Holy Ghost: go in peace, and the Lord be with you all. Amen."[96]

The English missals prescribe no final blessing. But the germ of it appears in the eighth century, as shown in the First Roman Order, where after the dismissal the bishops as they leave the altar address the pontiff, "Sir, bid a blessing," and he replies, "The Lord bless us."[97] As early as the eleventh century such a blessing had become a frequent custom in the West, and it was eventually prescribed in the Roman missal at the revision of 1604.[98] There, after the dismissal and the final prayer, "Well pleasing to thee,"[99] the priest says "Almighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, bless you" (*Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus*, etc.), and *Amen* is added.

The Sarum missal directed the priest after the final prayer to sign himself and say "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," though this does not appear in the missals of York and Hereford. But there is no reason to

[90] See above, p. 149.
[91] Brightman, 188.
[92] *Ibid.* 66 *sq.*, 105.
[93] *Ibid.* 243 *sq.*
[94] *Ibid.* 343, 397.
[95] *Ibid.* 303.
[96] *Ibid.* 457.
[97] Atchley, *Ordo Rom. I.*, 146.
[98] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 393.
[99] See above, p. 195.

doubt that the use of the concluding blessing had become general in England when the compilers of the book of 1549 inserted it.

The first fourteen verses of the Gospel of St. John were often recited by the priest after mass throughout the Middle Ages, becoming by degrees a prescribed addition to the service in some missals; and thus the passage was ordered to be said by the priest while returning from the altar in the Sarum rite, as also by a bishop in the Roman; and eventually in 1570 the Roman rite appointed it to be said by the priest at the altar.[1] The Ambrosian rite follows this. The influence of Rome has introduced it also into the Armenian liturgy; but there it is said before the dismissal, and from Easter Day to the Eve of Pentecost the passage of St. John xxi. 15-19, "So when they had broken their fast," is substituted.[2] The passage of the Gospel is not found in other Eastern rites, nor was it introduced into those of York and Hereford, nor into the Mozarabic and Gallican rites.

13. The Holy Loaf.

For the meaning of the Holy Loaf to which the rubric of 1549 refers we have to look back to the usage of early times when the offerings which were not required for the Eucharist were distributed among the clergy and their assistants; this rule being given in a canon of Theophilus patriarch of Alexandria in the year 385[3] and also in the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 31). In later times the bread which remained unconsecrated was given to the worshippers who were not communicating, and was specially blessed for this purpose by the priest, being called the *Eulogia*, or Blessing, and also the *Antidoron* as given instead of the eucharistic gift. These names imply a Greek origin for the custom, though the first evidence of it appears in the West in the ninth century.[4]

In the Sarum and York missals the blessing of the bread occurs after the close of the mass, with this collect: "Bless, O Lord, this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the wilderness, that all who taste of it may receive health of body and soul, in the name," etc.[5] Cranmer in 1543 declared it to be a godly ceremony and wished to preserve it;[6]

[1] Fortescue, *The Mass*, 394.
[2] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 456.
[3] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 887.
[4] *Ibid.* 888.
[5] *Miss. Sarum*, 849,* *Miss. Ebor* II. 196.
[6] Scudamore, as above, 891.

but three years later one of his Homilies denounced it as a superstition and in 1548 it was forbidden.[7] It is probable that bequests which had provided for it became applied to Sunday doles of bread.[8]

In the Mozarabic rite the blessing of the bread takes place after the offertory, the prayer being almost identical with that of the English rites.[9] The custom is still continued in France.[10]

In the present Greek Church the loaf is so formed that the upper portion, marked with the seal,[11] and called the Holy Lamb, may be cut off and used for the communion while the remainder is divided for the Eulogia.[12] This is distributed at the close of the service.[13] The blessing of the bread is ordered after the dismissal in the Syro-Jacobite rite,[14] the Abyssinian,[15] the Persian[16] and the Armenian.[17]

[7] Brightman, *English Rite*, p. lxx.
[8] Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.*, 892.
[9] *Miss. Mozar.*, ed. Leslie, 220; *cf.* 537 *sq.*
[10] Gasquet, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, 195.
[11] See above, p. 209.
[12] Scudamore, as above, 889.
[13] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 399.
[14] *Ibid.* 109 *sq.*
[15] *Ibid.* 244; *cf.* civ.
[16] *Ibid.* 304.
[17] *Ibid.* 457.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY R. CLAY AND SONS, LTD.,
BRUNSWICK STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E. I, AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.